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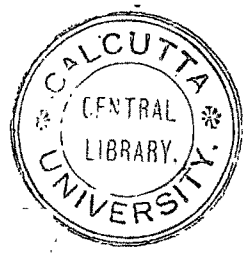

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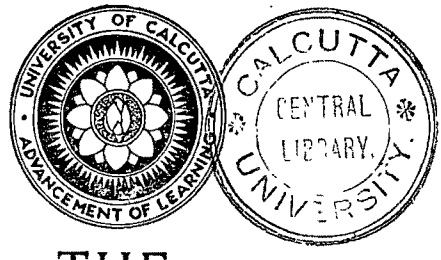

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VEDANTIC TRANSCENDENCE*

N. K. BRAHMA

INDIAN Philosophy is very often identified in the West with the view of Samkara as expressed in his interpretation of the Vedanta, and this supposition is not altogether without justification. Samkara's system of philosophy is widely divergent from all other schools of philosophy, and while other Indian systems of philosophy have their parallels in the West, Samkara's philosophy appears to be wholly unique to Western minds, and in their failure to comprehend its true significance, they have very often misinterpreted it. If Indian Philosophy has been revered from a distance by Western scholars, it is, in most cases, something like ignorant admiration for the eluding heights of the Vedanta; if, again, it has been despised and neglected, it is also because of the unique and baffling teachings of the Vedanta. The true interpretation of the Vedanta in a form in which it is intelligible to the modern mind seems at present to be the supreme need in the field of Indian Philosophy. I have, therefore, taken up this subject as my presidential address in this session of the Indian Philosophical Congress.

According to Samkara, Brahman (Absolute) transcends the *jagat* (world). The Absolute is the substratum of the world and is its ground. The world appears or manifests itself resting on the Absolute: it has no other support. So far Samkara does not tell us anything

* Delivered as Presidential Address at the Indian Philosophical Congress, 1941, held at Aligarh.

new. There are many systems of philosophy in the West holding this view. But Samkara also tells us that the world is a false appearance, a superimposition (*mithyā adhyāsa*). This is just the point where Samkara is not rightly understood. The world is not an expression, manifestation or revelation of the Absolute: it does not reveal the nature of the Absolute. It is not different from the Absolute in the sense that it has no separate or independent existence—it rests on the Absolute as its substratum and support. Brahman is infinite and absolute, and no idea of the infinite and absolute reality can be formed from this finite world. Just as the snake is falsely superimposed on the rope, so also this world is a false superimposition on Brahman. In order to emphasise the absolutely transcendent character of Brahman, in order to show that the appearance of the world does not in the least affect the nature of Brahman, this analogy of the rope-snake has been used. The snake that appears (as imposed on the rope) has no other existence than that of the rope, yet it appears not as a rope but as a snake. The world also appears as real, although its reality is in Brahman or the Absolute and not in itself. The analogy of the rope-snake serves to point out these two aspects of the relation between the world and the Absolute—(1) the dependence of the world on the Absolute, and (2) the transcendent nature of the Absolute.

The transcendence of Brahman is not a spatial nor a temporal transcendence. We are not to understand that while the things of the world exist in a limited space and time, the Absolute pervades everywhere and endures through eternity. This sort of transcendence has been preached by many systems of philosophy both in India and in the West. Samkara's Brahman transcends the world not in this familiar sense of the word, but in an altogether new sense. The world is not *partially real*, but it is *unreal* (*mithyā*), though not non-existent (*asat*). This *mithyātva* of the world is the ever-puzzling problem to Samkara's readers and interpreters. Certainly, Samkara means to say that the realisation of the Infinite (*Brahman*) is a unique experience which is not on a level with the experience of the finite. It is not a mere extension or continuation of the experience of the finite, but is an all-absorbing yet all-transcending experience which is wholly unique and really without any second. It is an experience which excludes nothing, denies nothing, contradicts nothing, supplants nothing, yet is not the aggregation or conglomeration of all things. It is All and None at once. It is not the most exalted finite: there is no likeness of it with

anything in the finite world ; and the aggregate of all finite things will not give the faintest idea of the Infinite. Brahman is *jagat-vilakṣaṇa*, and while Brahman is *sat* (absolutely real), *jagat* is *mithyā* (unreal). Just as the rope has nothing in common with the snake that is superimposed on it, so also Brahman has nothing in common with the world that falsely appears. This is perhaps what Samkara means when he says that that the world is *mithyā* (unreal). The Absolute transcends the universe not by way of space nor by way of time but it is the transcendence of one category over another. The Absolute and the world are not reals of the same order and hence it is no dualism to assert that the world has its reality in the Absolute. If we think of the Infinite or the Absolute in terms of the finite, we are bound to suppose that the Infinite *and* the Finite, the Absolute *and* the world, are two reals and hence a dualism will be inevitable. The Infinite is a *higher* category than the finite, the Absolute is of a different order of reality from that of the universe. In this sense Brahman transcends the *jagat*. Brahman is absolutely real—*pāramārthika sat* ; the world is unreal—*mithyā* in the absolute sense (*pāramārthikatvena*). There is no opposition between *Brahman* and *jagat*, between the absolute reality of Brahman and the phenomenal or *vyāvahārika* reality of *jagat*. Brahman is the substratum and support of the world and hence there cannot be any relation of opposition between the two. The Absolute that is opposed to the world is a spurious absolute ; the genuine Absolute cannot be in a relation of opposition to anything. That which is opposed to anything is only one member of the opposition and cannot be the Absolute which is the highest synthesis to which nothing can form the antithesis. The simultaneous existence of *sat Brahman* and *mithyā jagat*, of the Absolute and the world, has never been denied by the Vedantist. In fact, it is the light of Brahman that makes the manifestation of the world possible and therefore a *sahāvasthāna* or simultaneous existence of *sat Brahman* and *mithyā jagat* cannot consistently be denied by the Vedantist at all. *Īśvara* or God, with full and perfect knowledge never obscured, sees and rules the universe. The *Jīvanmukta*, attaining perfect knowledge, finds no difficulty in dealing with the things of the universe. Unlike the *Yogin*, the *Jīvanmukta jñānin* has no *vyutthāna*, *i.e.*, discontinuance of or rising from the stage of realisation. The *jñāna* or realisation of the Jīvanmukta is nowhere contradicted (*bādhita*) and therefore the realisation of the *pāramārthika sat* is not in any way related by way

of opposition to the experience of the things of the world as *mithyā*. So long *jñāna* or true realisation of the *pāramārthika sat* or the Absolute does not arise, the world is taken to be absolutely real. This sense of the absolute reality of the world cannot but disappear in the face of the reality of the Absolute. But the *mithyātva* of the world is not only not inconsistent with the reality of the Absolute, but is the only consistent conception of the relation of the world and the Absolute. Those who hold that the Vedantic doctrine leaves no room for the empirical reality (*vyāvahārika sattā*) of this universe and that a *Brahmavid jñānin* cannot have any further dealings with the universe do apparently forget the case of Īśvara and really misunderstand the spirit of the Vedantic doctrine. The difference between the *bādha samādhi* of Vedanta and the *laya samādhi* of Patañjali misses all significance if the interpretation we have suggested is not accepted. That noumenal freedom is quite consistent with phenomenal mechanism, that the *pāramārthika sat* Brahman, instead of being opposed to *ajñāna* (nescience) and its products, is really its support and substratum (*āśraya*), that the Absolute or Brahman cannot have any opposition (*virodha*) with anything, has been clearly pointed out by the Vedanta. In the stage of *dhyāna* or meditation, one object cannot occupy the field of consciousness without displacing another, but in the stage of *tattvajñāna* this is not the case. There is simultaneous working in all the levels of consciousness. Sureśvarācāryya takes this, in his Vārttika,[1] to be the clear distinction between the mere meditator (*dhyātā*) and the wise liberated soul (*tattvavid*). That the Absolute (Brahman) transcends in this way is the clear teaching of the Vedanta. The finite is not annulled, destroyed, negated or rejected in any physical sense of the terms. The Vedanta is no preacher of the *pariṇāmavāda* or the doctrine of transformation, so that it would demand an annulment of the finite in order to regain the pristine perfection of the Absolute, even if it were possible. According to the Vedanta, the Absolute does not undergo any change or transformation, and the creation of the world does not touch or affect it in the least. It is a false ignorance, a nescience, that is responsible for the appearance of the reality of the universe. So

[1] Na buddhim mardayan dṛṣṭo ghaṭatatvasya veditā
Upamṛdnāti ced buddhim dhyātāsau na tu tattvavid.

all that is required is a removal of the nescience in order that what previously appeared as real may rightly be understood as a false appearance merely. Just as the snake does not form any part or portion of the rope, so also the world does not form any part or portion of the Absolute. The snake that appeared is perceived as false. The reality of the rope and the *false* appearance of the snake are quite consistent. The reality of the snake conflicts with the reality of the rope ; but the consciousness that the rope falsely appeared as the snake, or that even now the rope seen in dim or insufficient light or in thin darkness takes the appearance of a snake, is the full knowledge about the relation of the rope and the snake. If previously a snake appeared and now a rope is seen, that is not sufficient for the correction of the error, because the person under the illusion may suppose that he had perceived a real snake which ran away before a lamp could be brought. Unless an identity is established between the rope and the appearing snake, the error cannot be corrected. For this correction, what is needed is the simultaneous perception of the *real* rope and the *false* appearance of the snake. That this rope seen in this environment is appearing as the snake and may appear as the snake is the real consideration that removes the error and shows that what was perceived was not a real snake but one falsely imposed on this rope. The snake that appeared is not negated or annulled, because it is never real. It was not real even when it was perceived. It has a *traikālika niṣedha*, it is *mithyā*, it is unreal. The Jñānin leaves nothing behind him as a rejected real but takes everything with him as a perceived unreal. When the error is corrected, the judgment takes the form, " the snake is not, the rope is." It seems, if put in this way, that the snake is denied or rejected. But if we put it like this, " the snake that appeared to me and which I was following so long is now realised to be the rope," then the conclusion, " the snake is nothing but the rope," or simply, " the snake is the rope," establishing the identity of the rope and the (falsely appearing) snake may be easily accepted. So from one point of view it is the same thing whether we say that the snake is the rope or that the snake is not the rope, *i.e.*, in other words, that the world is Brahman or that the world is not Brahman. There is no transmutation of the finite in the Infinite, as Bradley thinks. The Vedanta does not attempt a compromise between the finite and the Absolute in this way. The finite has not somehow to be retained in the Absolute. The Vedanta does not pull

up the finite to the level of the Absolute nor does it bring down the Absolute to the level of the finite. It gives us another solution of the problem. The Absolute is all in all of the finite, it is its *adhiṣṭhāna* and *āśraya*, its ground and support. The finite cannot and does not live for a moment without the Absolute. But what from the standpoint of true knowledge is the Absolute appears as the finite from the standpoint of ignorance or ordinary empirical knowledge. The finite has its fulfilment in the Absolute, not by remaining transmuted in it, as Bradley supposes, but by finding itself, its entire undivided self, in the fullness and perfection of the Absolute. It attains the Absolute by realising that its finitude is only an appearance and that really its self is the Absolute. The Absolute cannot have a finite content. However twisted and transmuted the finite may be, however it may have thrown off its diversity, it can never form the content of the Absolute. In the Absolute, there is no limitation and there cannot be any difference. The "difference, though not diversity," of the finite content would interfere with the absoluteness of the Absolute. It is not possible to introduce something of the limitation of the finite into the Absolute and still retain the purity of the Absolute. It is illogical, according to the Vedanta, to think of the Absolute as having finite content. If it is absolute it cannot have the finite as its content; if it has finite content it cannot be the absolute. The difference of the finite elements implies a mutual limitation which cannot characterise the content of the Absolute. The Absolute is not merely a synthesis or harmony of the finite. It is not possible to realise the Absolute by eliminating the diversities of the finite. The Vedanta thinks that the Infinite or the Absolute is very different from the finite and that a thorough conversion, a jump or a leap, is necessary in order to pass from the finite to the Infinite. The effect is of the same nature as the cause and is only the manifested state of what remains latent in the cause. The *kāraṇa* (seed) stage is the cause of the *sūkṣma* (subtle) stage which again is the cause of the *sthūla* (gross) stage. These three stages belong to the sphere of causation and mechanism. But there is a fourth—not really fourth as one additional stage in a line with the preceding stages, but another stage which really underlies all the three stages and transcends them all—the *turīya* state which is *kāraṇātīta* or above the sphere of causation. This is the sphere of perfect freedom which has no similarity with the sphere of mechanism. The *turīya* state

is a *sarvavilakṣaṇa* state—it is very different from everything else in the phenomenal sphere. The phenomenal proceeds out of it, has no existence apart from it, but the dualism and opposition, difference and limitation, that are inherent in the phenomenal sphere have no place in the *turīya* state. The dualism or opposition that characterises the finite universe must have to be transcended before it is possible to realise the one undivided homogeneous (*ekarasa*) Absolute Reality. The finite is in essence the Absolute, not because the finite is in a line or continuous with Absolute, but because the Absolute is the ground and substratum of the finite, just as the rope is the ground of a very different appearance, *viz.*, the snake. The finite is not other than the Absolute because it has no existence apart from the Absolute and not because it is the expression of the Absolute. The noumenon is the ground of the phenomenon, freedom is the truth of mechanism, Brahman is the ground of the world—all these are true in the same sense. Just as noumenal freedom is consistent with phenomenal mechanism in Kant, just as the reality of one Substance is consistent with the plurality of modes in Spinoza, so also the absolute reality of Brahman is consistent with the empirical world, according to the Vedanta. Freedom cannot be understood at the level of mechanism —a mechanised freedom or a free mechanism is a contradiction in terms. The finite content of the Absolute is a similar contradiction. Freedom in the ground and mechanism in the appearance are not only not inconsistent, but this seems to be the only solution of the problem. At the level of *imaginatio*, diversity or plurality is real; at the level of *intuitio*, identity or oneness is real. To ignorance, *jagat* or diversity or phenomenal causation is real; to knowledge, Brahman or the Absolute One or perfect freedom is real. Brahman which is undivided and perfectly homogeneous has somehow assumed an appearance of division and heterogeneity constituting the finite world, and it is only by a transcendence of this dual appearance that Brahman can be realised. The finite does not fall outside of Brahman and is not different from Brahman, so that it would form an other to Brahman and destroy the absolute monism of the Vedanta. The finite is not rejected or denied but perceived as an appearance of Brahman which cannot but be logically characterised as false. It appears but does not form the content of its substance; hence it is false.

We have to guard against another mistake as well. We have to remember that although the finite cannot form the content of the

Absolute, although the finite does not manifest, show or reveal the Absolute, still it is the finite that *suggests* or *points towards* the Absolute. That the Absolute cannot retain its absoluteness if it is limited to one member of the opposition is evident; that the Absolute cannot without contradiction be supposed to be the aggregate or sum-total of the opposing, divergent and differing members is also evident. The very dualism and opposition characterising the finite universe cannot but point towards an Absolute that transcends the opposition and is beyond all differentiation and difference. The highest function of the finite consists in suggesting that a non-dual Absolute must be the underlying reality which has assumed a dual appearance and in realising such an Absolute to be its ground and substratum. The bifurcating, discursive thought must commit suicide, in the language of Bradley, before it can apprehend the Absolute Reality. By assuming dual appearances which contradict each other it has revealed its non-dual character. This is the true meaning of the Upaniṣad text—*rūpaṃ rūpaṃ pratirūpo babhūva, tadasya rūpaṃ praticakṣaṇāya.* Although it sounds like a paradox, this seems to be the true relationship between the finite and the Infinite. The finite connects itself with the Infinite, suggests the Infinite, although it does not express or reveal the Infinite. It expresses yet it does not express the Infinite.

The failure to understand the transcendence of the Vedantic Absolute has been the source of many regrettable misinterpretations of Samkara's philosophy. There are some Indian scholars who think that while Hegel's Absolute is dynamic, Samkara's Brahman is static. They evidently forget that Samkara's Brahman is *guṇātīta* or *dvaitātīta*, *i.e.*, above all opposition and duality including the opposition of staticity and dynamicity, and as such cannot be identified with one member of the opposition. The changing universe does not fall outside Brahman, does not form an other to Brahman. Brahman is the ground of the universe, though the universe does not form the content of Brahman. There are many who think that Samkara's Brahman is one-sided inasmuch as change or motion has no place in it; it is the silence that denies change and as such is opposed to change. But this is evidently a mistake. The opposition of silence and motion, quietude and change, belongs to the finite world of dualism, and the Absolute which underlies and transcends the opposition cannot itself be one member of the opposition. If the Absolute

is described sometimes as silence, it is the Silence beyond silence that is opposed to motion. Brahman has been described as *Satyasya Satyam*. It is the truth of truth or the truth beyond truth. The conception of the Infinite or the Absolute that is supposed to be higher than that of the Vedantic Absolute simply because the former has the finite as its content and as such explains the finite and is a concrete Reality, is not anything unknown to the Vedanta. The Vedanta describes the *Prāṇa* or *Hiraṇyagarbha* in exactly the same terms. The Prāṇa is infinite and realises itself infinitely through the finite changes. Almost all the characteristics that apply to Brahman or *Ātman* also apply to *Prāṇa*. The Prāṇa includes all change and movement and is the Concrete Absolute of Hegel. Those who think that the Vedantic Absolute is a lower conception than the so-called Concrete Absolute including change and movement really forget that the Vedanta has this Concrete Absolute or *pariṇāmi nitya* in its concept of the Prāṇa, and that if it describes Brahman as a higher reality, it means by it something more than the Prāṇa, and therefore Brahman cannot be anything inferior to Prāṇa. While the Prāṇa has duality inherent in it, Brahman transcends the duality. Brahman cannot be described as both silence and movement, because the one opposes the other, and to suppose that two opposed attributes can both characterise one and the same reality involves a contradiction. Brahman is beyond rest and motion, beyond silence and dynamis, and is neither mere rest or silence as is very often supposed nor the combination of both silence and change. The silence that manifests itself through change and combines with it is a relative silence. The real Absolute is the Silence beyond silence, the Truth beyond truth. The Sāmkhya *Puruṣa* has *Prakṛti* outside of it and therefore may be identified with silence that is opposed to change. The Vedantic Brahman has nothing outside of it—it is the *upādāna* (material) as well as the *nimitta* (efficient) *kāraṇa* of the world and therefore it is entirely wrong to suppose that it is mere silence and does not explain change. The world is neither annulled nor affirmed in Brahman, because while the world finds all its reality, its ground and substratum in Brahman, the duality that is inherent in it is not found in Brahman at all. It is a peculiar relation that can be described only by the word 'transcendence.'

It is just because of this failure to appreciate this transcendence that Indian mysticism has been misunderstood and regrettably

misinterpreted even by such a great mind as that of Henri Bergson. The "burning, active mysticism" which he misses in Hinduism is not really absent there. The Hindu mystic establishes a genuine contact with the creative effort or Prāṇa, of which life is the manifestation. The '*elan vital*' of Bergson is nothing but the conception of *mukhya Prāṇa* so illuminatingly described and emphasised in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. The mystic is *sarvabhūtahite rata*, always engaged in doing good to all creatures simply because he is *samabuddhi*, because he finds the same identical self in all. As soon as there is contact with the creative effort or the *mukhya Prāṇa*, an increase of vitality is felt and as a result of this contact, idleness and lethargy are completely eliminated. This energising or awakening is the indispensable condition of all illumination—'*nāyamātmā balahīnena labhyaḥ*,' the soul cannot be realised by one who is lacking in energy. This really means that unless there is living contact with the Universal Energy, the realisation of the soul or *ātman* can never happen. If the Vedanta has spoken of the *ātman* or the self as *śāntam*, as Silence and Harmony, it is to be understood that this Supreme Silence is the prius of the opposition of silence and change and not the Silence that ignores or denies change. As has been said before, it is the Silence beyond silence. Similarly when the *ātman* is described as *Śivam*, as Sublime and Supreme Goodness, it is not the Good that is opposed to Evil but the Supreme Bliss that is the prius of the opposition of good and evil. This the Śruti herself emphasises by saying that it is *advaitam Śāntam Śivam*, that it is beyond all opposition and duality. The Hindu mystic is not a silent, helpless, passive spectator, as Bergson has supposed, but a conqueror who has realised and established his freedom undisturbed by the movements of nature. There may be a great deal of activity in apparent inaction, and, again, a great deal of inaction in apparent activity. The outward bodily movements cannot be the genuine criterion of real action. The active mysticism which Bergson notices in Ramkrishna and Vivekananda and thinks narrow-mindedly to be the result of contact with the Western civilisation[1] is an indispensable element of Vedantic mysticism and is as old as the Vedanta itself. The so-called 'active mysticism' is only a stage in the Vedanta. The Vedanta knows and speaks of a higher stage where the opposition of

[1] Two Sources of Morality and Religion, p. 133.

action and inaction seems to be meaningless and absurd and resolves itself into a higher unity. The Absolute seems to be ever moving while in eternal rest and is the permanent silence underlying all change, or rather the opposition of silence and dynamis does not apply to the Absolute at all. At the stage of *Bhakti* or affinity and attraction, the Westerner should have no difficulty in recognising the "active and burning" mystics. The Hindu *Bhakta* or devotee is as much a burning mystic as any other Christian mystic, and there are innumerable instances of them narrated in Bhakti Literature. It is the transcendent stage that presents a real difficulty to the Western mind and it is no wonder that a foreigner with little acquaintance of Indian culture should fail to understand the real significance of Indian mysticism.

I have so long attempted to explain that the Vedantic position is the only satisfactory solution of the relation of the Absolute and the world. It cannot be held that the world expresses the Absolute, because that will imply that the Infinite expresses itself through the finite and as such is only an aggregation of the finite. It cannot be said that the world or Nature is a portion or moment of the Absolute. If the world is a moment, it implies a division and as such the original undivided Absolute does not remain. The dualism of subject and object, spirit and nature, *aham* and *idam*, must have arisen within the Absolute and still must be supposed to be not touching or affecting the Absolute. This is the *vivartavāda* of Samkara. The duality and opposition representing the world is an *adhyāsa*, a false appearance not affecting the *adhiṣṭhāna* or substance. The world, the false appearance, finds its fulfilment or reality in the Absolute, just as the false snake that appears finds its reality in the rope. The rope is the entire reality of the false snake, and the false snake finds all the reality it has in the rope. The world suggests the Absolute and finds its reality in the Absolute and therefore is not rejected or denied.

I shall now take up the objection that is often urged against the Vedanta that, as it is based on the authority of the Vedas, it cannot be regarded as a genuine system of philosophy. Rationalisation of experience is the true function of philosophy, and almost in every case, a philosophical system is an elaboration and justification of some experience, either sensuous or non-sensuous. The experience precedes and must precede the rationalisation. The Vedanta is no exception

to the general rule. It accepts the Śruti as its basis embodying as it does the experience of the adepts. The Vedanta does not merely quote or repeat the Śruti texts ; it proves with the help of strict logic that the Śruti texts are justifiable by reason. The great *Adhyāsa Bhāṣya* of Samkara is an attempt at furnishing the logical basis of the Upaniṣad view that the multiplicity and variety of the universe are unreal—*neha nānāsti kiñcana*. The psychology of illusion explains how one thing may have an altogether different appearance, how a rope may falsely appear as a snake. An illusion is an everyday experience, and a philosophy that bases itself on this fact of experience cannot be rejected as merely speculative. Reason can only show the possibility, while experience alone can acquaint us with the actuality of things. As soon as the Vedanta can show that the Upaniṣad view is rationally intelligible, as soon as it can explain how Brahman which is non-dual can have the world of duality and opposition as its appearance, as soon as it can show that there is no logical incongruity in the supposition, it eminently fulfils its task at once as a system of philosophy. Anyone who has taken the pains of acquainting himself with the vast literature of the Advaita Vedanta School must have seen that this is the supreme task that the philosophers have placed before them and that they have been highly successful in their endeavour. It is strict logic alone that compels Samkara and his followers to declare the world as unreal and it is strange how a system which is out and out logical could be regarded as not genuinely philosophical.

THE IDEOLOGY OF ADULT EDUCATION*

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BY calling upon me to preside over the Adult Education Section of this Conference you have done me an honour which I hardly deserve. But the honour is perhaps due to the great University which I have the privilege to represent.

I am one of those who firmly believe that the progressive deterioration in the relations between nations and communities is fundamentally due to a failure of the educating process through which society has sought to discipline the subversive tendencies of human nature. The world is to-day too much wedded to the doctrine that moral relations are valid only within the confines of a particular human group. Inter-communal and international relationships are still held by many to be subject to the law of the jungle. There are perverted idealists who preach that a little blood-letting is good for the human soul. Attempts have even been made to erect whole systems of philosophy on the doctrine of force. But I believe, there is a growing realisation on the part of good men of all countries and communities that the finest values of civilisation, the fruits of the martyrdom of countless generations of our ancestors, are in real danger of being drowned in a spate of human blood. The principal task of adult education is, as I conceive it, the rescue of civilisation from the menace of war and mob violence. No Atlantic Charter can bring about post-war reconstruction unless the minds of the masses of people in all lands are nursed out of their old animosities and obsessions by a carefully planned system of adult education.

Within every community the haves and the have-nots are struggling for power. The masses are awakening from their age-long slumber. The proletariat is rearing its head. I do not bemoan the passing of class privilege. Rather I welcome the proletariat's coming of age. Democracy is a great thing. Government of the people, by the people and for the people, is by no means an outworn creed.

* The address of the President of the Adult Education Section in the XVIIth All-India Education Conference held at Srinagar, Kashmir, on the 28th September, 1941.

Democracy is certain to come out of its present temporary eclipse in undiminished splendour and resume its onward march. Though our education has by no means been completely free from the bias of ideology and class privilege, I proudly claim for it the distinction of having contributed in no small measure to the equalisation of opportunities and the breaking down of class barriers. It should be the further task of education so to mould the minds of the masses that they should be awakened to a sense of responsibility to the entire community and not merely to their own class. Adult education will have its greatest triumph if it succeeds in relegating by universal consent, the dangerous doctrine of class war to the museum of antiquities.

Adult education is an education in citizenship. The three R's are important, but they are not everything. The curriculum and organisation of adult education must be governed by the needs of the new order that is coming after the war. A new conception of citizenship is crystallising itself in our minds. There is a growing realisation on all sides that to be a good hater and a lusty flag-waver are not the sole requirements of citizenship. The World State of the future requires a new type of citizen. The requirements of that citizenship need to be carefully planned. Adult education must be an integral part of that planning. The ordinary means of education at our disposal are not adequate for the purpose of imparting training in citizenship under the new dispensation. Here is where adult education has to play its distinctive role. It will serve as a principal instrument in moulding the shape of things to come.

A scheme of adult education for the Indian masses cannot be conceived in vacuo. It cannot be politically neutral. I have assumed that the new order will apply in full measure to India, that the people of India will decide by their votes in a convention the sort of government and laws that they need. I have assumed a free and independent India forming a part of the Federation of the World. Such assumption may appear to many to be dangerous delusions. I hope and believe that they are not. If, however, these hopes are not immediately realised, even then it is the state which must decide the character of adult education and assume the financial responsibility for its success. Adult education must not remain a queer hobby of cranks and amateurs. It does not call for heroic and romantic endeavour on the part of a handful of philanthropists. Adult education should be entrusted to the hands of wholetime teachers employed and

paid by the state. It should be a part of the state's normal and daily educational routine. It should be state-planned and state-managed. The final programme of adult education must be drawn up in a convention in which the people and the state will co-operate. The character of the state, the sort of citizen that it needs, the economic objectives that it seeks to further, its conception of political rights and obligations, condition the education that its people require. Adult education is a task of national and perhaps also international planning. Voluntary effort has its place in the scheme. It can help much for instance, in the production of literature. But by itself it is not enough.

Repeated appeals have been made in the past to the students to spend their vacations in the villages spreading literacy among the illiterate. Rich and middle class young men get their education largely with the help of the poor tax-payer's money. They have certainly a duty towards the poor, a duty which they can best discharge by spreading the one gift which they possess, and the poor lack the ability to read and write. The magic of literacy gives sight to the blind and ears to the deaf. Illiteracy is a terrible curse. Its blighting effects are seen not only on those who are illiterate but also on those who possessing the divine gift of literacy yet suffer others to remain deprived of it. In China and Russia the students have done wonderful work in the spread of literacy and knowledge. Their shining example should be a source of inspiration to our students. But, I am afraid, the appeals to students to serve as volunteers in the cause of adult education are foredoomed to failure in India. Nor is much good likely to result from the unorganised and unco-ordinated activities of individual students. I am in favour of conscripting the services of students and young men for limited periods for the spread of literacy and adult education. If Germany can conscript the youngmen and women in her educational institution for compulsory labour service and if the example of Germany may be copied in other countries including England, there is no reason why in India too that cannot be done. That will be a great training in citizenship for the young people themselves. It will instil in them a sense of community with the people and train them in the harder virtues of discipline and sacrifice. The students will find a living and altogether new interest in the dry-as-dust details of history, geography, civics and economics which they master in schools and colleges.

The tasks of teaching adults should, as far as practicable, be entrusted to the hands of trained teachers. A practice is growing up of employing teachers of primary schools in adult education centres, especially at night. That practice is to be condemned. The tasks of primary education are altogether different from and much more different than those of primary education. A personnel service should be created specially trained and equipped for the purposes of adult education. If the services of young graduates and students are enlisted, either as volunteers or conscripts, they should be made to undergo short courses of special training.

While literacy is the key-stone of the educational arch, literacy is enough. A man may be able to read a letter or sign his name across a dotted line and yet remain completely deprived of the benefits that the power to read might confer on him. Much depends on the uses to which the power to read is put. It is of the utmost importance to supply good libraries in adult education centres for follow-up work. In this connection, we must remember that the existing atmosphere in most of our villages has a deadening effect on the intellectual aspirations. Some external stimulus is badly needed for stirring up and maintaining intellectual interests ; otherwise there is sure to be a relapse into illiteracy with its consequent wastage of human efforts and materials.

The use of mechanical aids to learning has justly been stressed by experts in the discussions on adult education. The gramophone, the radio, the magic lantern and the cinema are indispensable instruments in making education instructive and interesting to adults. These have to be adapted to the special requirements of illiterate adults. As commonly used, they often do little good to those for whom they are meant.

The value of discussion-classes and seminars in adult education is great. In western countries, in England and elsewhere I have seen how educational settlements have successfully organised seminar-classes for adults. Voluntary efforts in India will perform its greatest service if it succeeds in organising educational settlements. This experiment has already been made in some parts of the country and it is desirable that such experiments should be made on a bigger scale all over the country.

The problem of finance for adult education is a very important one. Provincial autonomy created a serious and widespread interest

in adult education. The Report on Adult Education of the Central Advisory Board bears witness to the first wave of interest in the subject that swept over India. Many of the Provincial Ministers are now out of office. A particular Provincial Government sanctioned Rs. 13,000 in the budget for adult education in one year. Next year, the budgetary grant was increased to Rs. 75,000. When we remember that the province has a population of 5 crores of whom only 11% are literate, we may well wonder whether the splendid sums provided for adult education are not of the nature of a sop to public opinion. Not in this way is adult education going to make progress in India.

In western countries adult education centres are of the nature of continuation schools. In India we are often too obsessed with the removal of literacy to think of any thing else. This is unfortunate. The future State in India must make primary education universal and compulsory. The problem of literacy will be a problem of education of the child, not the adult. Even so, the importance of adult education will in no way diminish. As a matter of fact, adult education cannot be viewed in its proper perspective so long as we are not in a position to distinguish it from the question of primary education. The programme of adult education should be an organic part of a National Plan. The success of a Five-Year or Ten-Year Economic Plan in India will depend upon the ability of the masses to appreciate its significance and to realise their own rights and obligations in relation to it. To make every citizen a shock-trooper fighting under the direction of the National High Command in the campaign against poverty, disease and hate is the highest objective of adult education that I can conceive of. And as every citizen is not only a part of the social machine but also an end in himself, adult education must provide those elements of culture which promote the joy of life and make life worth living.

In spite of what particular school of economists and philosophers may say or believe, the world is inevitably moving and will do so on the road to greater and more intensive industrialisation. In fact, the pace of this movement has been so rapid in the past (and the future is not likely to see any slowing down) that it has outstripped the evolution of our social and political institutions. Socially and politically, we are still living in the middle ages while industrialism has created an ultra-modern environment around us. The result has

JAIL INDUSTRIES AND PRISONERS*

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IN September, 1940, I went round some of the important jails in the United Provinces with a view to obtaining an idea of the daily life of the prisoners, and if possible, to find out the factors responsible for their criminality. I visited the Bareilly, Agra and Naini Central Prisons, the Meerut and Cawnpore District Jails, and the Bareilly Jail for Juveniles. No less than 300 prisoners were interviewed.

This paper is based partly on the strength of my personal enquiry and partly on the reports published by jail authorities. The paper falls into three sections. First, Prisoners, second, Industrial Activity in the U.P. Jails, and third, Jail industries *vs.* Private enterprise.

It should be made clear at the outset that I shall be mainly concerned with "C" Class prisoners. This is for three reasons. First, they constitute the largest section of jail population. Second, the labour force of jail industries is derived exclusively from the "C" Class prisoners. Lastly, amongst them are to be found criminals of all categories. For the consideration of the criminal problem, however, I have in view no distinction between the "C" Class prisoners and the "B" Class prisoners. The question of "A" Class prisoners for our purpose does not arise, for they are in the main political prisoners, apart from being a very small minority.

It is only when the question of the daily life of a convict arises that distinction between the "B" and "C" Class prisoners becomes necessary. The "B" Class prisoners are sheltered better, fed better and in return it is light work they are required to perform. In other words the cost of maintaining a "B" Class prisoner is much more than the cost of maintaining a "C" Class prisoner, while the latter contributes more towards his maintenance than a "B" Class prisoner.

What is the standard according to which prisoners are put in different classes? It is the social position that is the chief determinant. A murderer with a recognized position in society is generally placed in

* Paper read at a meeting of the Bengali Institute of Sociology on 14th December, 1941.

the "B" Class, while a person belonging to the lower strata of society is given "C" Class, even though he be guilty of a minor offence.

From the 300 prisoners I interviewd in the U. P. Jails I gathered that all of them, with the exception of a few, had been brought up in conditions of poverty. A large majority of them came from rural areas and belonged to the agricultural class. Their first beginnings of criminal ways had been made either in the industrial towns of U. P., where they had migrated for a temporary period consequent upon the failure of crops[1] or in the villages themselves. In the villages disputes frequently arose over small matters such as irrigation and cattle trespass, leading to serious consequences and often murder. It is lack of self-control in these cases which is responsible for crimes of violence.[2] In a number of cases suspicion of a wife's character or uncontrollable passion for a woman had been the direct cause of murderous deeds and crimes of sex. In the Bareilly Juvenile Jail, for instance out of 180 prisoners no less than 40 had been convicted for rape.

Many a prisoner, it was found, had lost one or both parents in early childhood, thus deprived, in their lives from the very start, of love and restraining influence. Their education had been neglected either for lack of guidance or lack of means, or educational facilities where guidance and means were available. Even where schools had been set up there was a complete lack of wholesome social, family and neighbourhood atmosphere which goes to develop in the child a sense of responsibility, a sense of discipline and a sense of loyalty to the group.

There were, however, a certain number of prisoners who had been reared in comparatively decent surroundings and led a comfortable life. Such cases only go to prove that criminality in a given society is both a subjective and an objective phenomenon. Heredity and environment are both important in the outcome of a life. As Clarence Darrow puts it: "It is obvious that certain structures are so perfect that almost no environment will overcome them. Instances of strong men developing out of poor environment are not rare. While some

[1] Dr. B. S. Haikerwal in his book *Social and Economic Aspects of Crime in India* has established a distinct relation between harvest returns and crime. This is the experience of crime statisticians in Europe also, as indicated in Paramelee's *Criminology* (New York)

[2] Cecil Walsh, in his book *Crime in India* (London, 1930) tells us that the lack of self-control of the Indian cultivator seems to be largely due not merely to lack of education but to lack of that constant association with people superior to himself in education, refinement and outlook which the English peasant enjoys (p. 10).

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heredities withstand a poor environment others are so poor that no matter how good the environment, the machine cannot survive.[3]

According to Benoy Sarkar sterilization statutes have been passed in 31 out of the 48 states in the United States of America. These laws recognize heredity as a major factor in certain types of hereditary degeneracy. The quality of the future population is sought to be protected by removing certain individuals from the stock of parenthood of the next generation.[4]

Bonger in his work *Crime and Economic Conditions* makes the assertion that it has never been proved that heredity plays a great part on the scene of criminality. He asks: " Have the advocates of sterilization never heard of Australia, where a considerable number of inhabitants are descended from the worst criminals and where yet the rate of criminality is low?"[5]

Paramelee believes that the individual factors themselves are in a large part the cumulative result of social environment in the past. The exceptions are the atavistic characteristics, which date back to lower species or to a period anterior to human social life, while if these are a form of degeneracy they also may be attributed to social environment.[6] In other words the criminal today may not necessarily be the product of his own social environment but of the social environment of his forefathers.

The search for factors that give rise to criminality is a long and difficult one. For a complete understanding of the relative importance of heredity and environment we shall be required to answer the following questions:

1. What innate factors does man possess?

2. How are the innate factors transmitted from generation to generation?

3. What is the moulding power of such aspects of the physical environment as food, light, temperature and moisture?

4. What is the moulding power of social environment upon mental characters?

[3] *Crime : Its Causes and Treatment*, by C. Darrow (London, 1934), p. 32.

[4] "The Sociology of Crimes and Punishment," by Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar (*Calcutta Review*, January, 1937).

[5] Bonger as quoted by S. Banerjee in his *Principles of Criminology with special reference to their application in India* (Calcutta, 1919).

[6] M Paramelee : *Anthropology and Sociology in relation to Criminal Procedure* (New York, 1917), pp. 85-86.
See *Eugenics* By Carr-Saunders (London, 1926), pp. 14-16.

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Before passing on to jail industries a word might be said about feminine criminality.

The population of female prisoners in the United Provinces is about one-fiftieth of the male population. They are mostly married women or widows. From the unmarried classs and the prostitutes, the number is almost negligible. In 1937, out of 465 admitted into the jails there were 297 married, 147 widows, 13 unmarried and 8 prostitutes. In 1939, out of a total of 458 there were 281 married, 163 widows, 13 unmarried and only one prostitute.[8]

In foreign countries too the number of female prisoners has been found to be relatively very small. Clarence Darrow has given three reasons for the small percentage of female prisoners. One is that in many of their crimes they are the accomplices of men and take rather a minor part. For this reason they are often not detected and frequently not prosecuted. The second is the attitude of chivalry towards women on the part of men. Third, women have always led an economically protected life.[9]

Judge August Goll observes "that it is usually the women who have drifted away from the traditional family life or lead a secluded existence who join the criminal ranks; women who have come to live the lives of men and taken on their inclinations constitute the majority of the feminine criminals. In agreement with this we find that it is in the countries where woman's equality with man in the battle of existence is most advanced that we find the higher percentage of criminals."[10]

From an examination of cases in the United Provinces I found that the crimes of women are mostly attempted suicide, infanticide, abortion and child-abandonment. In most cases their criminality could be traced to poverty and absence of protection. The word "protection" here is employed in a wide sense. It means not only protection granted by the husband or parents-in-law or other relations, but also protection granted by society. Where a widow or an unmarried girl resorts to abortion or kills her child for fear of being rendered an out-caste by society; it may be said she has been denied protection by society.

[8] *Annual Reports of the U. P. Jails* (1937-1939).
[9] *Crime: its Causes and Treatment*, Darrow (pp. 59-60).
[10] "Criminal Types in Shakespare" in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, (January-February, 1939).

The problem of curing the criminal is as complicated as the search for factors that give rise to criminality. It is generally said that after the disease is diagnosed, the treatment involves no difficulty. It may be true of the ordinary physical ailments. In the case of a criminal, the real difficulty begins after the diagnosis has been made.

In India, barring the Probation system which has been introduced for the young offenders, no attempt has been made to study individual cases. Our jails are making some effort to reform the criminal, but their methods are not directed towards individual treatment. Individual treatment in the jails, however, is not possible.

Jails in India have prescribed one cure for all the "C" class prisoners, and that is industrial training. It must, however, be pointed out that industrial training is not the direct purpose of the jails. With the exception of the Bareilly Juvenile Jail where the inmates are trained according to their individual aptitudes, in all other jails the benefit that accrues to the prisoners is more or less incidental. Jail industries have been organized mostly with a view to keeping the prison-force occupied, which as an indirect result benefits the prisoners, by creating in them the habit to work.

Various industries are being carried on in the jails of the United Provinces. The principles on which they are organized are that the jails should first manufacture articles for consumption in the Jail Department, second for supply to the Government Departments, and, third for sale to the public.[11]

Different jails have specilised in different industries. For example the Agra Central Prison is largely responsible for the supply of blanket and blanket-coats for the use of convicts. The Benares Central Prison meets the entire demand for vessels necessary for food and drinking purposes. The whole of the printing work required by the jail department is performed by the Naini Central Prison, while the Fatehgarh, Benares and Bareilly Central Prisons concentrate upon the weaving of cotton clothing for the entire population of convicts in the U. P. Jails.

Some of the Government Departments also patronize jail-manufactured articles. The Government treasuries in U. P. depend on the Lucknow Central Prison for their supply of durries and string-bags.

11 *Report of the U. P. Jails Enquiry Committee* (1929, p. 137).

Lucknow has specialised in the manufacture of durries. The Benares Central Prison supplies blankets and basta-cloth to the Police and other departments. Allahabad concentrates on stock-form printing, newar, ropes and cotton putties. Agra produces dusters. All tents for Government Departments are made in the Fatehgarh Central Prison. All quinine tablets used in Government dispensaries are prepared in the Aligarh District Jail. Tailoring, which is the most profitable industry is carried on in the Cawnpore District Jail. Uniforms are supplied to the Police, Excise, Forest and Jail Departments.[12]

Articles for sale to the general public are manufactured in all Central Prisons and a number of the District Jails. Moonj-mates are the most patronized. There is also considerable demand for high grade woollen carpets and durries made in the Agra Central Prison. At one time the Agra Central Prison supplied woolen carpets and durries to many of the Monarchs in Europe.[13] That is before the Great War of 1914-18, since when the demand has greatly fallen. The fall in demand may be attributed to the fact that the elaborate designs in which they are usually made have gone out of fashion now. The manufacture of durries, however, has become a more valued industry—the reason being that they satisfy the latest trend in design and quality.

Blankets, carpets, durries, cotton cloth, newar, tents and moonj-mats are the chief articles of production in the U. P. Jails. The first five are the oldest industries. Mention, however, must be made of some of the newly-started industries too.

In the Agra Central Prison the manufacture of cotton wicks and turban fringes was introduced in 1936, pottery and basket-making in 1938, sozenies and saries in 1939, cane-industry and calico-printing in 1940.

The Fatehgarh Central Prison has started producing garden and survey umbrellas, towels, durries, cotton and silk cloths, shirting and suiting cloths and biris.

The industrial activity of the Lucknow Central Prison, besides durry and carpet-making, includes the manufacture of newar, cotton net bags, dusters, moonj-matting, shirting and coating. Cane-work, hand-made paper making, the manufacture of silk cloth and

[12] *Report of the U. P. Jails Committee*, 1929.
[13] "The Agra Central Prison"—an article by Lt. Col. M. A. Jaffary, the *Indian Penal Reformer* (Lucknow).

brass buttons, calico-printing and toy-printing were started in the jail not very long ago. The female prisoners, have been trained to do the embroidery and knitting work.[14]

Almost similar kinds of manufactures are being carried on in other jails of the province, except with the difference that in some of the jails carpentry work occupies an important place. To give an individual account of manufactures in each jail would be an unnecessary repetition. The foregoing account gives us sufficient idea of the diversity of manufactures. There is a wide range of industries giving an ample scope to the prisoners to make their choice.

The manufactures are carried on mostly by hand. A large majority of the labourers have no previous association with the manufacturing work. They begin their training in the jail and if their sentence happen to be long they grow up to be experts at their job. The Deputy Jailor is the factory officer. Though he is without any previous training either, in course of time he becomes fully acquainted with his work. Even a chance visitor can see the high skill attained in many of the Central Prisons, where work is being conducted under the supervision of Deputy Jailors.

One thing that strikes about jail manufactures is that they lack in certain marketable details. The Director of Jail Industries is fully conscious of this fact. He observes in his article on Industries in U.P. Jails that " if the size is good the quality is defective, and if the quality is good the size is odd." [15] The Director recommends that the industries should be reorganised on commercial lines and their products should be standardized.

The Indian Jails Committee of 1919 were of the opinion that the intra-mural labour should be carried on by means of modern methods, the machine tool and machinery generally. They recommended that attention should be concentrated in each jail on one or two large industries. The Committee, however, does not overlook the interests of the private producer. The Committee clearly lays down that the task of finding employment for prisoners must be so conducted as to do the least possible injury to private enterprise ; the least injury will be caused by directing jail labour in those

[14] For a detailed account of Jail Industries, Old and New, see Annual Reports of the U.P. Jails.

[15] Article by Mv. Mohd. Mushtaq, Director, Jail Industries U.P., published in the *Indian Penal Reformer* (Lucknow).

channels in which large, organized and powerful industries are already in existence.

From the business point of view one can see little objection to the introduction of woollen machinery and the elimination of certain small industries. But a jail cannot afford to be entirely businesslike. The convicts must be taught something which they can successfully follow after their release. Over 75% of the convicts belong to the agriculturist class. They go back to their villages to follow their previous occupation. Apprenticeship at a modern machine will always have a temptation for them, to seek employment in the manufacturing industries,[16] away from home, away from their families. Without a home and a family a convict is likely to continue in his criminal habits.

There, however, can be no objection to the introduction of simple machinery to facilitate and improve production. A machine could be employed for carding wool and spinning, and fly-shuttles could be introduced to improve the weaving of cotton dussootie. There could be no objection to engaging technical experts to facilitate the task of the Deputy Jailor.

It has been pointed out that a jail should, as far as possible, keep in view the occupation that a convict is likely to follow after his release ; it has also been pointed out that over 75% of the convicts belong to the agricultural class and that in most cases they return to their occupation. The reamining 25% do not necessarily belong to the industrial class, but they are mostly townsmen. In order to obtain successful results the non-agricultural convicts should be compelled to learn some industrial craft, on which they can depend for their livelihood, when released. They might be trained in the manufacture of blankets, carpets, durries, metal work, leather work, etc., while the agricultural convicts should only be given an opportunity to learn such handicrafts which they can pursue in their villages to supplement their agricultural income. In other words, allotment of labour in jails should not be made at random or according to the fancy of a convict, but according to his previous occupation and the area—urban or rural—to which he belongs.

The U.P. Jails Committee of 1929 suggested that the agricultural convicts should be given training in agriculture. There are difficulties

[16] *Reports of the U.P. Jails Committee, 1929.*

involved in carrying out this suggestion. The first is that there are fixed hours beyond which the prisoners cannot work. In the case of at private firm such difficulty does not arise. He can work till late at night or early in the morning. The second difficulty is that there is a limited number of convicts which are eligible to be brought outside the jail premises.[17] The third difficulty is the scarcity of water supply.

The land available for cultivation is mostly outside the jails, while a sufficient number of prisoners under the rules is not available. A vast area of the land thus lies barren.

We have noted above the remarks of the All-India Jails Commiteee of 1919 that jail industries should be organised in such a manner that they do not come into conflict with the interests of the private producer. It will be valuable study if the jail industries, as they are constituted today, are encroaching upon the field of the big private concerns.

A private enterprise we know is entirely a business concern. The producer is on the look-out for higher profits, for the exploitation of the labour and the exploitation of the markets. The number of labourers he employs depends upon the scale of production, the extent of machinery and the market conditions. Dullness of the market results in the elimination of a part of the labour. A jail, on the other hand, must feed its labour force even during a slack period. Here conditions are essentially different.

A prison is a world by itself, inhabited by the so-called anti-social classes. The state is in charge of them. The state maintains them out of the money of the tax-payer. But the tax-payer does not bear the entire burden of the expense. The criminals are made to work and earn part of their living. But when no work is available, they cannot be shown the way out. The state unlike the private producer, must maintain its convict force even if it is idle. The employment of a convict besides being contributive, is meant to be instructive. A prisoner is an apprentice who is being trained to concentrate his mind on work, to shake off idleness and to lead an honest

[17] Those who are eligible to work outside are— :

(1) Persons sentenced for a year or less who have completed three months of their term ; (2) persons sentenced for more than a year but less than three and who have completed half their sentence ; (3) persons sentenced to more than three years but less than five and who have not more than 1½ year to serve.

life. One of the means through which he is being remodelled is industry. A jail industry then, we might say is both a business concern and an educational institution. A private firm is strictly a commercial organization, One is moral and material; the other is material alone. This is the fundamental differences between the natures of the two organizations.

There can be no comparison between jail industries and big private concerns. The latter means power-driven machinery of great technical experts, trained labour, goods of standard, quality, big advertisements and big sales. Jail indusiries are cottage industries. Simple implements are employed in the production of articles; labourers belong to rural areas where they had no previous association with the trades in which they are required to work and the term of their imprisonment is over before they get to learn their jobs properly. Jails not only manufacture goods but they also manufacture workmen, such as weavers, potters, carpenters, etc.

Jails have, however, certain advantages over private firms. Labour troubles are almost non-existent in the jails. Articles are produced to order. Hence the question of risk does not arise. The private producer, on the other hand is threatened by strikes on the slightest provocation. Besides he has to employ experts to study the market carefully. There is a definite risk in the production of commodities with an uncertain demand. There are, however, equal possibilities of loss or gain. With a sudden increase in demand the private producer gains, while the jail cannot exploit the opportunity, for the adjustment of production at a short notice is impossible.

An important feature that distinguishes jail enterprise from private enterprise is that in the former wages constitute an insignificant item of production, Labourers are paid no monetary reward for the work done. Their real wages consist of simple clothing, food, shelter, games recreation and certain educational facilities. The avarage cost per head of average strength has been calculated at Rs. 6/8/- per month.[18] It is only in the tailoring department of the Cawnpore Jail that a small sum is distributed as wages amongst the labourers. Each convict gets two annas a day for making 12 knicker-bockers, one pice per Police blouse, and one pice per millitary shirt.[19] On the average

[18] *Annual Reports of the U. P. Jails.*

[19] Personal enquiry from the Deputy Jailor, Cawanpore District Jail.

he makes seven Police shirts per day, to give him an income of seven pice. Privately the sewing charges for knicker-bockers are twelve annas per knickerbocker. At this rate he should be earning about Rs. 9/- a day, if he made 12 knickerbockers. But as the work is not regular, let us place the average at two knickerbockers a day. This would give him an income of Rs. 45/- a month. The point is not how much the convict would get outside the jail, but that a large sum of money is saved, which would otherwise have considerably reduced the profits made by the Cawnpore District Jail.

The absence of monetary wages, however, does not, in any way, affect the private producer. Prices of goods produced in the jails are fixed by the States Purchase Office, according to the expected private charges or the prevailing prices in the market. They constitute cost of raw-materials, incidental charges, wastage of raw-material, wages fixed on the basis prevailing outside for the same class of goods, and profits. The wear and tear of tools is estimated at 2½%. 12½% is charged on account of profits, but only 5% is charged on goods supplied to the Government Departments and wholesale dealers. An extra charge of three pice in the rupee is made for carrying goods to the Lucknow Jail Depot. Overhead charges are included in the profits.

Although labourers do not cost much to the jails, the cost of production for certain goods is comparatively very high. And this for the following reasons:—

Firstly, there is a tremendous wastage of raw materials in the jails. Industries here are carried on on a small scale. They are deprived of the economies of large-scale production. The articles manufactured are mostly made by hand. In consequence the jail manufactured article is usually at a considerable disadvantage. "Although it is produced by cheap labour, it is generally in the end dearer than an article produced by machinery which is controlled by more costly labour."

Secondly, the jail labour is unskilled and constantly changing. Most of the convicts, when they enter the jail, are completely ignorant. They have got to be trained to do the manufacturing work. The private worker expects an increase in his remuneration, if he works more efficiently and shows progress in the quality of the work done. He works for a reward. For the labourer in the jail, work is taken more in the nature of punishment.

It has been pointed out that jail industries have a great advantage in that the convicts rarely resort to strikes for the enhancement of wages or for redress of other grievances. It must be remembered, however, that the absence of labour troubles, as are to be confronted in a private organisation, is counterbalanced by the disinterested manner in which the labourers work. Not more than 60% complete the task given to them by the Factory Officer. For example, a convict in the Spinning Factory is supposed to spin 16 Chhatacks of cotton every day. Ten Chhataks is the average done by a casual. But the habituals generally finish their task.[20] If monetary incentives were introduced, not only the quality of work would improve, it would also act as a reformatory influence upon the labourer.

Thirdly, there is no expert supervision.

Lastly, it must be pointed out that the yarn for the jails is not purchased scientifically. For example, the Deputy Jailor of the Meerut District Jail complained, that as the yarn and other raw materials were purchased by the Stores Purchase Department it involved an additional cost of transport. Cost would be less, if they purchased locally. Here what would be desirable is that the raw-materials should be purchased locally but through the Stores Purchase Department.

The high cost of production for certain goods places the jail industries in a very unfavourable position. The Government Departments who are the main customers are not prepared to pay more for a jail-made-article than it would for an article produced by a private firm. Any unreasonable preference given to the jails would be resented. The jail industries are in a peculiar position indeed. When their cost of production is low, they must sell at market prices; they are not allowed to encourage their sales by charging a low price ; and of course when the cost of production is high the question of buying their goods does not arise.

Even where the cost of production is the same in both the private and jail industries the former generally succeed in getting orders from the Government Departments. It is a matter of common knowledge that private producers quote low prices for high class goods, and when orders are placed, the supplies do not conform to the samples. The jail authorities on the contrary, observe strict honesty in their dealings

[20] Deputy Jailor, Agra Central Prison.

with the public or the Government Departments. This fact hampers their sales considerably, and puts the private producer in a greatly advantageous position.

Besides high cost of production and honesty, there are however, certain other factors which are responsible for the small sale of jail-made goods. Jail goods have fixed prices. The salesman cannot, of his own free will, reduce or raise the prices as the situation demands. He cannot act without the permission of the authorities above him.

There is lot of paper-work and correspondence. Immediate decisions cannot be taken. (The Co-operative Stores opened by the Co-operative Societies are experiencing the same difficulty.)

Jail industries have furthermore, a disadvantage in the matter of advertising their goods. Private concerns have large establishments and they can spend large amounts in employing agents to bring their goods to the knowledge of the people ; they have, moreover, no compunction in giving false description of articles in newspapers and thus deceive the public. Jail industries, on the other hand, are conscientious about the rating of articles. There is a strong opposition to the Jail Department advertising their goods, or placing them in sales rooms in business quarters. Recently a jail depot has been opened at Lucknow, in the Aminabad Park, where articles from all the Central and District Jails of the United Provinces are exhibited and put for sale. But one jail depot is not enough to do the entire work of advertisement in the province. There are many people who do not know of the existence of jail-made articles. Those that do know of the existence of the articles often do not know where the jail is. If they do know many will not take the trouble to go there.[21]

The U. P. Jail Committee, in their report, have pointed out the difficulties that operate against the sale of Agra Jail made carpets. According to them, the rise in the price of materials has practically doubled the cost of the high grade Agra Carpet. Apart from this fact, the demand has fallen for other reasons. Thirty years ago, the committee observes, well-to-do officials in the province spent greater periods of continuous residence in India. Facilities for travel were less. It was nothing unusual for a Collector or a Sessions Judge to remain five years or even more in one house. He had more money

[21] *Report of the U. P. Jails Committee, 1929.*

at his disposal, prices were lower, and he had both the opportunity and desire to beautify his residence. Such officers bought expensive carpets. In these days that class has less available money and it travels more. Their residences are not furnished as they were formerly. The result is a considerable falling off in the demand for articles of this nature. Visitors to India might buy these articles more, but, in the first place, the majority do not know of their existence. So long as these articles are kept in the jail and not marketed according to business methods, it is difficult to produce them except on order. Visitors to India are not inclined to place an order when they will not obtain delivery until they have left the country. Further, certain countries refuse to admit articles made by jail labour.[22] Thus the demand is considerably restricted. It is unfortunate that the manufacture of carpets and durries in the Agra Central Prison is declining. The U. P. Jails Committee is of opinion that the manufacture should not be given up, even if there is very little profit or possible loss. The reason for this recommendation is that the skill in carpet weaving is indigenous. Certain convicts have a surprising aptitude for this work. There have been too many arts lost to India in the past by want of encouragement, and it is to be hoped that the Agra carpet and durrie manufactures will not be allowed to fall into desuetude, as once the manufacture is discontinued it will be very difficult to revive it.

The present war has brought about no considerable change in the demand for jail made articles. The Government's demand for blankets was supplied mostly by the private firms. Due to the scarcity of private supply, the Government, as a last resort, placed an order of the value of two lakhs of rupees, with the jail industries.[23]

Considering these facts there seems little substance in the outcry that has many a time been raised against jail competition. The private manufacturers and labour argue that prison employment is vicious because the prisoner is exploited and goods are dumped on the market at cut-throat prices which inevitably depress the standard of

[22] For example America "In America, attacks upon prison labour, despite the compact and sincere attempt on the part of prisoners to live up to its provisions have continued with great vigour and a surprising amount of success. Unfair propaganda, relative to prison-made goods have circulated which have resulted in certain large whole-salers and retailers refusing not only to sell prison made goods but even to deal with any Company or concern which had any connection with the merchandizing of prison products.....Some Companies refuse to sell raw-materials to the prisons." From an article entitled "Prison Labour" by J. V. Bennet in the *Proceedings of the 64th Annual Congress of the American Prison Association*, (1934).

[23] Md. Mushtaq, Director of Jail Industries, U. P.

private industry and free labour. This argument has no foundation. We have seen that goods made in prison and sold on the open market are not sold at less than current market prices. Further, the prisons do not indulge in any of the unfair trade practices prohibited to private manufacturers. In fact the prisons have sacrificed everything and received little in return.

It is said that every prison inmate who is employed on some productive occupation takes work away from some free workers. This view is equally unsound. Mr. J. V. Bennet has rightly pointed that the fact of the matter is just the other way. Prisons, he says, take out of competition a certain number of men every year and place them behind walls. The men taken out are larger in number than those who are given employment. In other words, instead of increasing the amount of unemployment among free workers the prisons are actually helping to solve the problem. In the United Provinces only 40% of the prisoners are engaged in productive employments. The remaining 60% work outside the jail factories.[24] They are maintained by the state but if they were outside the jail, they would accentuate the unemployment problem.

From no point of view, can we condemn the existence of jail industries. They help us in solving to some extent the problem of unemployment and exercise a beneficial influence on the mind of the convict. Furthermore, jail industries, if developed considerably, are likely to relieve the burden of the tax-payer. At present the jail industries bring in cash earnings of only about Rs. 1,50,000 per annum on the average, while the annual expenditure of jails amounts to about 24 lakhs of rupees.[25] The difference of twenty-two lakhs and fifty thousand comes from the pockets of the tax-payer. If the jail industries were encouraged on the lines recommended, there would be not only no menace to private enterprise and free labour but a definite gain.

[24] It will be interesting to note that in America only about 10% of the prisoners are employed in any worth while industry. About 40% are assigned to maintenance details while the remaining 50% lead an absolutely idle life.—Harold E. Donnel (Annual Congress of the American Association, 1934).

[25] See *Annual Reports of the U. P. Jails.*

THE DRAMATIC ART OF EUGENE O'NEILL

GOPAL BHAUMIK, M.A.

THE soil of the United States of America has never been rich in the harvest of the drama. Though the history of the literature of this new country is not so old, still in this short time she has shown many signs of her creative efforts in other branches of literature But with regard to the drama it may be safely asserted that her soil had been completely barren up to the end of the 19th century. The very few dramatists she had during the 19th century, wrote sentimental or farcical comedies. Most of these comedies did not at all appear in the book form because they were worthless as drama. These dramas (if they can be so termed) had no appeal for the outside world. These playwrights did not at all possess any originality—even when their theme was native, their treatment was wholly imitative and conventional.

During the first decade of the present century, there was a marked advance—Clyde Fitch, Willian Vaughan Moody, George M. Cohan, Edward Sheldon and others wrote promising plays, some of which were sucessfully staged in England while others are known to us through the film. Poetic drama of this period is represented by Steele Mackaye and Edna St. Vincent Millay.

It was by this time that America first of all felt the necessity of freeing her stage and drama from the foreign influence. But she could not do anything memorable in the field of drama till the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. It was after this Great War that American dramatists discarded the path of imitation and conventionality for ever and tried to find out new lines for themselves. Hitherto American theatres and dramas were copied out of the Old World but this time the dramatists began to experiment along new lines. It is really surprising to note that these experiments have mostly proved successful.

Nobody can accuse American drama of imitation and conventionality to-day. In the mean time America has produced a number of dramatists who are really powerful, and by virtue of their masterly

dramatic creations, they have brought a revolution both in the stage and in the drama. It is true that these dramatists keep in touch with the main dramatic current of Europe, and with patience they hear what the European dramatists have got to say, but they are no longer dependent upon them for their inspiration. "They may write about New York or Chicago, but the interest strikes deeper and often has an appeal which is universal. . . . The great play, no matter whence it comes, deals with the eternal passions which are the common heritage of humanity in all ages and in all lands. Its appeal is international." There are scores, probably hundreds, of American dramatists to-day, but the names which stand out most prominently are the following: Eugene O'Neill, Elmer Rice, George Kaufman, Marc Connelly, Paul Green, Maxwell Anderson, George Kelly, Susan Glaspell and Zoe Akins.

It is not at all possible to discuss the dramatic art of all these writers in the short scope of an article. My aim is to present a short analysis of the dramatic art of Eugene O'Neill, the most original and most powerful of the present-day American playwrights. Eugene O'Neill is one of the most original and versatile geniuses of the theatre at the present day. Not much is known about his private life, except that he is very shy and silent and avoids personal advertisement. He is hardly seen to lead a town life. But when this shy man takes up the pen, he becomes terrific. People indulge in many sorts of stories about him which throw some light on his character and personality. At least this is known about him that he possesses hereditary dramatic genius, in as much as he is the son of James O'Neill, the well-known American actor. Engene O'Neill is just over fifty now, and his early life was a roving and adventurous one. He has tried all kinds of work—gold prospecting in Hondurus, acting, business, reporting, mule-tending on a cattle-boat and sailing. His rough experience of sea-life was indeed a fine preparation for his career as a writer. Sea-motive was a very dominant factor in his earlier one-act plays. It is true that he received a more or less orthodox education at the Princeton University, and he once studied under Professor Baker at Harvard, but the real inspiration behind his dramas does not come from any book or dramatic theory but from his contact with the real men and women whom he came to know in the lower strata of society. This is where his dramatic art surpasses others: he knows the ins and outs of the

characters he depicts in his dramas. That is why his characters are so real and vital.

Eugene O'Neill was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1936 for his masterpiece *Strange Interlude*—a drama of epoch-making importance. When we read his plays, we cannot but admit that he is a great dramatist of striking originality. Originality and revolution perhaps go hand in hand with each other. When Ibsen appeared on the European stage, he had to violate many dramatic conventions, which made him subject to bitter criticism from all quarters. But he did not care—he followed the dictates of his own genius. So also did Eugene O'Neill. When he appeared on the American stage, it was full of imitation and conventionality. He at once rebelled against it and proved himself a hard iconoclast. He is a great revolutionary dramatist who has introduced much innovation both in the technique and in the subject matter of the drama. The country in which he has been born, has very little dramatic tradition to boast of. So O'Neill had himself to discover new channels for the outlet of his genius, and he has admirably succeeded in his mission.

The number of plays written by O'Neill is not at all small. He has written plays ranging from one act to nine acts. The chief of his dramas are: *Beyond the Horizon, The Emperor Jones, The Straw, The Hairy Ape, All God's Chillun Got Wings, Anna Christie, Desire under the Elms, The Great God Brown, Marco Millions, Lazarus Laughed, Strange Interlude, Mourning Becomes Electra,* and *Ah Wilderness.* Of these, again, the four most important tragedies in my opinion are: *The Emperor Jones, Strange Interlude, Lazarus Laughed* and *Mourning Becomes Electra.* My chief discussion of O'Neill's dramatic art will centre round these four great tragedies representing the dramatic genius of O'Neill.

As a dramatist, the greatest characteristic of Eugene O'Neill is that he is always conscious of the lofty and serious nature of the dramatic art. There are playwrights who may seize a trifle and make it into an elegant and amusing play. But O'Neill is more ambitious. He has no time for trifles. He is always experimenting in new forms and techniques. " He always seizes big themes which struggle and writhe in his hands, and his handling of them is only determined when the fight is in progress." No two of his plays are alike in form ; it seems that he is continually seeking for the ideal form which he has not yet found. This is where the difficulty comes

in ; it is not very easy to make an assessment of O'Neill's genius because, as a dramatist, he does not fall in any definite school. In a drama like *Anna Christie*, O'Neill is a stark realist, while in *All God's Chillun Got Wings*, he is a symbolist. In dramas like *The Great God Brown*, *The Emperor Jones* and *The Hairy Ape*, he is an expressionist. He has also experimented in religious themes and produced a modern miracle play like *Days Without End*. But in all his plays there is the sense of an active elemental force. From the view-point of stage-craft too, O'Neill is a revolutionary. For one of his plays, *Desire under the Elms*, a four-roomed house is required for the setting while the walls are removed or replaced with the change of scene. Thus the first scene may take place in the kitchen downstairs, while the second scene takes place in the bed-room on the first floor. In one scene the audience has to watch two scenes, one upstairs and one down, simultaneously.

O'Neill is practically a post-War discovery. His first volume of plays was published in Boston in 1914, but the New York public came to know him in 1919. At first a semi-professional group of players, called the Province Town-players, staged some of his earlier one-act plays. Then they gradually introduced him to the theatre-going public of New York. After some time, O'Neill captured the imagination of the New York public by the performance of his *Beyond the Horizon*. But his real conquest came still later ; he gained world-wide recognition by his first great drama, *The Emperor Jones*, published in 1922. There is hardly any scope for doubt that *The Emperor Jones* is a great epoch-making drama, both in technique and in the novelty of its theme. For years dramatists had been trying to find a new kind of play, something that would pass beyond the limits of the usual contemporary drama. O'Neill with *The Emperor Jones* came to realise their dream. The play is practically a monologue spoken by the principal character ; the other persons appear only in the first and last scenes to fulfil the function of the Chorus to his tragedy. The sound of the tom-tom beaten by his pursuers is the antagonist in this drama of fear. In it O'Neill discarded any attempt at arrangement into acts, and dealt with the theme progressively in eight scenes. For the central character he chose no usual hero but a negro pullman-car-porter, who has had to leave the United States on account of his crimes which include murder. The scene of the play is laid on a West Indian Island " not

yet self-determined by white mariners." Brutus Jones, the hero of the play, came to the island and the natives tried to shoot but somehow the shot missed Jones. Jones was extremely clever and he availed himself of this opportunity of playing on the superstitious fears of the natives. He told them that nothing could hurt him excepting silver bullets. The simple-minded natives believed in his supernatural power and made him the Emperor of their island. This is how the negro pullman-car-porter came to be Emperor Jones. While ruling over these people, he has secretly deposited all the gold obtainable in the island in a foreign bank, with the hope that some day he would leave this island for ever. Somehow the secret leaked out and the natives rose against him. They all assembled on a hill-top and began to beat tom-tom. The sound of the ominous tom-tom is heard throughout the play. The natives believed that there was charm in the sound of the tom-tom and that the Emperor could not leave the island so long as the tom-tom was beating.

The first scene of the drama opens in the palace of Emperor Jones. Jones is informed of the rebellion of his subjects by a low-caste British trader Smithers. But the Emperor remains totally unshaken. This fearlessness of the character of Jones cannot but excite our admiration. He at once decides to leave the island. From the second to the seventh scene we watch the flight of the Emperor through the " brooding implacable silence " of the forest, on the other side of which lies safety and the gold he has deposited in the foreign bank. Then begins the most amazing part of the play. Emperor Jones loses his path in the forest which he knows so very well. He is tormented by the sins and crimes he has committed in his previous life. " In each scene he encounters phantoms deepening in intensity and mystery and receding from the present into the pre-natal stages of his being." In the second scene they are the little formless fears of his imagining. He dispels them with a shot from his revolver, loaded with five lead bullets and one of silver which he is keeping for himself if he is caught. In the third scene he sees Jeff, the negro porter he had killed in a quarrel, and he talks to him as he does to himself in the natural monologue of a negro under the stress of emotion, until the shot dispels the vision again. It goes on like this till the seventh scene takes him back to Congo, to a dance of sacrifice and death, led by the witch doctor, who, after raising the pitch of the scene to an almost unbearable note of inten-

sity, summons the Crocodile God from the river and motions Jones to become the needed sacrifice ; Jones has almost been hypnotized but he calls on the Lord and shoots the crocodile with the remaining silver bullet and falls on the ground. The tom-tom of the natives has been vigorously beating all the while. For the last scene we return to the edge of the forest where Jones entered it. The negroes have simply waited here, knowing that Jones cannot escape. We learn from the conversation between Lem, their leader and Smithers, that they have moulded silver bullets in order to break the charm. A number of natives are sent into the forest, four shots are heard and the dead body of Emperor Jones is brought in. Smithers pays his last tribute to the Emperor in the following words:

" E's better man than the lot of you put together. I' ates the sight of 'im but I'll say that for 'im." It is a fine thing for an art when a creative master shatters conventions and makes for freedom. O'Neill defied the ordinary rules of technique, but he did not violate the fundamental laws of drama. He kept the unity of time; he violated the unity of place ; but he substituted a higher unity—that of impression. One critic remarks about the fine drama, " It is a drama of human fear. The emotion of terror is a binding force that fuses the scenes into an unforgettable picture of a human soul fighting against his own evil deeds, the cruel fate of his forefathers, the ignorance of centuries."

Strange Interlude is perhaps the greatest achievement of O'Neill's dramatic genius. This drama is unusually long, comprising nine acts in all. In spite of this unusual length, the drama has met with grand success on the American stage. One hour's interval is allowed after four acts: the audience take their dinner and then they come back to watch the play once more. It must be admitted that O'Neill has achieved an impossibility in this age of speed. Another peculiarity of this drama is that it abounds in ' asides,' which, as, a stage-device, has been discarded by the modern playwrights. It was a stage-device prevalent in the Middle Ages when there was paucity of scenes and settings on the stage. Asides and soliloquies were then indispensable for the dramatist to convey necessary information—regarding the time, the place and the characters—to his audience. It is for this reason that Shakespeare's plays are full of asides and soliloquies. But O'Neill's asides and soliloquies are not at all informative in character—they are rather soul-revealing. *Strange*

Interlude is a curious attempt to present a dual treatment of a group of characters. There are two stories running side by side—there is the superficial story told in the normal dialogue and there is the concealed story of the sub-conscious mind revealed by the 'aside' and the soliloquy. Nina Leeds, the heroine of the play, dominates it from the beginning to the end. She is perhaps the greatest heroine created by the masterly pen of Eugene O'Neill. At times she does a little bit repel us, but in the totality of impression she leaves upon the audience, she is one of the grandest tragic figures ever seen on the stage. *Strange Interlude* is a powerful study of the clutch of a woman upon five men who love her—each in his own way: her father, her two lovers Marsden and Dr. Darrell, her husband Sam Evans and her son Gordon, have their lives determined by her, just as hers is determined by her unfulfilled passion for the dead aviator Gordon, whom her father had prevented her from marrying. Each of the men loves her madly but none can get her completely. Each of them can only fulfil, in part, the functions which her dead lover Gordon Shaw might have satisfied alone—this is Nina's tragedy. Her father dies broken-hearted, her husband dies without the slightest knowledge that Nina has never truly loved him and that the real father of their son is Dr. Darrell, and her son finally escapes her. Towards the end Nina is almost helpless. Charles Marsden, who is a friend rather than a lover, wins her in the end through his selfless and continued devotion. Tragedy seizes most bitterly upon Dr. Darrell who has come nearest to possessing Nina. One of the most poignant scenes is that in which Nina prevents Dr. Darrell from telling her son Gordon that Darrell is his real father. The last scene of the drama is unforgettable. Here we see Nina and Dr. Darrell standing on the roof of their house while overhead in an aeroplane flies away Nina's son Gordon with his beloved. Dr. Darrell can no longer check himself. He wants to blurt out the truth which he has so long kept hidden in his mind. He looks upwards to the aeroplane and cries aloud, "Gordon, you are my son, you are my son!" His words are wafted away by the wind—we know not where!

Another of O'Neill's remarkable dramas is *Lazarus Laughed*. The story is taken from the Bible where we find that Lazarus, after his death, was brought back to life by Jesus Christ. The main thesis of this drama is that there is nothing called death. Death is only an inevitable change in the course of the eternal life. It is the fear of

death which makes people blind to this fact. Lazarus was re-born without this fear—so he could always laugh affirmatively. So Lazarus could say, "But there is no death, nor fear, nor loneliness! There is only God's eternal Laughter! His laughter flows into the lonely heart!" On another occasion he remarked, "O men, fear not life! you die, but there is no death for man!" I reproduce below what O'Neill himself says about the theme of this drama, "The fear of death is the root of all evil, the cause of all man's blundering unhappiness. Lazarus knows there is no death, there is only change. He is re-born without that fear. Therefore he is the first and only man who is able to laugh affirmatively. His laughter is a triumphant 'Yes' to life in its entirety and its eternity." Still there are dramatic critics who do not refrain from calling O'Neill a pessimist who looks only to the dark side of things.

Mourning Becomes Electra is a very important play of Eugene O'Neill, written in the style of the ancient Greek dramatists—Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. O'Neill writes in the introduction of the play, "For many years the idea of using one of the old legend plots of Greek tragedy as a basis for a modern psychological drama had occurred to me. Would it be possible to achieve a modern psychological approximation of the Greek sense of Fate which would seem credible to a present-day audience and at the same time prove emotionally affecting?" It is needless to say that both these aims of the dramatist have been successfully achieved in his *Mourning Becomes Electra*. This is a trilogy based upon the famous Electra trilogy of Æschylus—the greatest of the ancient Greek tragedians. In it Eugene O'Neill has matched his strength with Æschylus, and he can well pride himself on the success he has achieved. The character of Lavinia created by O'Neill is in no way inferior to that of Æschylus's heroine Electra. *Mourning Becomes Electra* is a tragic study of the Mannons—a family of strong emotions and culture. The trilogy consists of three parts: *The Homecoming*, *The Hunted* and *The Haunted*. The play is laid in the Civil War period of America, because it gains perspective thereby. The passionate love of Lavinia for her father General Mannon, her mother Christine's hatred of her father, and Christine's illicit passion for Adam Brant which leads to her murder of General Mannon on the night of his return from the Civil War, make up *The Homecoming*. From this point Lavinia becomes the dominating character. She knows the secret

of her father's murder and she is determined to wreak vengeance on her mother. It is she who leads her brother Orin to kill Adam Brant, and it is she who drives her mother and Orin to suicide. Then judging herself as she had judged others, she shuts herself up in the Mannon house, to be a prey to the ghosts which will haunt her till her death. This is how she pays for the sins she had to commit in defending the honour of the family. In *Mourniug Becomes Electra* O'Neill indicated an avenue for new playwrights to follow. Taking a great plot from the Greeks, he made it a new thing in terms of the modern American life. The story has none-the-less suffered for its being old—O'Neill has added variety and strangeness to it by his profound psychological study. There are after all a few great plots ; instead of avoiding them and writing about nothing, why not take up an old one and, by admitting the source, disarm all criticism ? *Mourning Becomes Electra* is the proof of the fact that such dramas may succeed admirably.

As said before, O'Neill's dramatic genius is versatile. It is impossible to discuss his dramatic genius in detail within the short scope of a small article. It has been realised, from the discussion of his four great dramas, how different and varied his dramatic technique is. One great characteristic of O'Neill's dramatic genius is that he is a great worshipper of beauty like the Greeks. He sees beauty where, apparently, there is only ugliness. The truth of this statement is corroborated if we look at the neglected and down-trodden Negroes whom he has made into heroes of his plays. For example, we may cite the cases of Jim Harris and Emperor Jones. Who else has written such grand tragedies about the lives of the Negroes ? O'Neill is no doubt a revolutionary dramatist, but as an artist he is not uncontrolled. He possesses the proper sense of proportions like the ancient Greeks. His themes may sometimes seem repellent to Puritans, but his artistic sense and admirable treatment make them the fine dramas they are.

MIND AS THE FACULTY OF KNOWING

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MIND is not an existent, nor is it a substance. It is a word simply to denote our conscious *efforts*. An effort, as distinguished from the normal course of life, is actuated by something foreign and opposing. The normal life of the subject, or the self, is characterised by free-will, and as such, conscious efforts, as mentioned above, do not include willing in the Kantian sense. The self in itself is entirely free and is not the struggling self as we have in knowing or feeling. The capacity of the mind extends only so far as the subject knows or feels, and it is only in its knowing capacity that we want to study it in this essay. This mind, or more appropriately, minding, is always related to an object, and an unobjective or purely subjective minding is inadmissible. Even when no external stimulus is present, mind has an object against itself. This may sound contradictory but the contradiction is only apparent.

A reshuffling or reorganisation of our views and outlooks is necessary before we can be expected to appreciate the Kantian revolution in thought. In perception, we believe that we are affected by something outside and external to our mind. This phrase "outside and external to our mind" requires explanation. Our uncritical opinion seems to suggest as if between our mind and its object there is some objective link, which relates our mind to its object and, at the same time, forms the line of demarcation between the two. Our mind seems to be an existent and the object we mind another, while in and between the two a third existent appears to hold, with reference to which we think the object as external to the mind and the mind as independent of the object. As if, between the two independents—mind and its object—there is a third thing which is neither, but which may be described as the objective space. This view is entirely mistaken. In the first place, between two independent existents there can be no relation. In the next place, if two independent existents cannot get related to one another by means of themselves, no third existent can bring them together. Thus so long as we take the mind, its object,

and the intervening space as *existents*, no knowledge-relation can be explained.

But that knowledge-relation is possible, nay, is an indubitable fact, is admitted by all sane minds. The task before all philosophers is to show how that relation takes place. One attempt has been to bring forth a forced conjunction of the two—mind and its object. It has been suggested that though *res cogitans* and *res extensa* are wholly distincts, nay, diametrically opposites, they may be brought together by a superior force—a *deus ex machina*. This is the Cartesian explanation and it suggests a forced interaction between mind and its object. Were knowledge an instance of physical combination or physical contact, this explanation could succeed. But knowledge being a case of construction or *a priori* synthesis, the Cartesian explanation is a wholly misdirected one. Later followers of this school of thought have suggested that the interaction is not a forced one—it is a natural process. Thus though the mind and the object are distincts, still the object acts on the mind whereupon the mind reacts to the object; the external stimulus impinges itself on consciousness and consciousness reacts to it and thereby responds to it. This explanation is accepted by the modern psychologists although its philosophical value is anything but indubitable. That our conscious activities are of the nature of responses and that these responses are occasioned by external stimuli may be facts. But how the stimulus is received and response is made to it, or briefly, the 'how' of the interaction, is not explained. To hold that interaction takes place *somehow* or takes place *as a matter of fact* is no answer as to *how it happens*. In their futile attempts to solve the riddle, the psychologists ask protection of the physicists and physiologists. These latter thinkers, the psychologists point out, can, by their theory of the radiation of light or the propagation of nerve-impressions to the brain, fully demonstrate how interaction takes place. The absurdity is quite apparent. The information of the special tools with which the artist works does not serve for any clue to an understanding of the nature of his art. Similarly, no knowledge of the constitution of physical objects or of the functions of the afferent and efferent nerves, even of the structure of the central nervous system, suffices as an explanation of the phenomenon of interaction. Moreover, light may radiate, and the physical system may be active, but so long as the subject is not minding, no sensations will be received. It is a genuine mistake to hold that the so-called

sense-organs are themselves the senses. In reality, they are but physical conditions of sensing. The eye does not see, nor do the ears hear, although they are the physical means whereby hearing or seeing is possible. The real 'senses' are very different from the sense-organs as eating is different from mouth. The confusion consists in taking the word 'sense' as a noun while it is but a verb implying an activity of some sort. Kant wanted to remove this confusion; how he did so we shall see in the sequel.

The theory of psycho-physical parallelism, originally propounded by Spinoza is maintained by many, and it is thought that it can make good the defects of the theory of interaction. This theory is more poetic than philosophical, and its supporters seem to believe that a difficulty of explanation can be spectacularly solved, just indicating that it is imaginary. A direct causal relation is denied in it to retain an absolute distinction between mind and its object, and to explain knowledge-relation a mythical correspondence or correlation is suggested. But why should a physical event necessarily correspond to a psychical act, or what does guarantee this parallel relation? No answer is given, at least we do not know that any serious reply has been made by its supporters. Parallel lines and similar constructions may figure well in geometry but its introduction in epistemological discussion is irrelevant. When we review our experience, it is a fact that we reflect it as a whole and not as any parallel set of act and object. Indeed, the theory of parallelism was originally propounded on the assumption that mind and matter are not only distincts but also wholly incompatible.

Some, again, have supposed that knowledge-relation admits of a causal explanation. Before passing over to the Kantian view-point, it is necessary to dispense with the pretensions of this theory. It has been suggested that 'real' objects of the environment can cause impressions in the mind, that the mind is a passive receptacle without any activity of its own. The suggestion that objects in space cause impressions in the mind which is not in space sounds absurd. To improve upon this position, the extremists have denied all reality and originality to the mind. Thus mind has been regarded as an effect of the environment—an epiphenomenon. That this view has no proper scientific basis is admitted even by Russell. Semon's description of mental capacities as engrams remains but an unproved hypothesis. The glaring absurdity of this view, however, lies in some other

direction. However real and indubitable our 'external' surroundings may seem to us, it is a fact that without minding we cannot expect to appreciate their so-called real nature. Is it not cutting the ground under one's own foot to deny subsequently the reality of the instrument enabling us to describe things in terms of reality? Moreover, in what sense can external things be looked upon as causes of the impressions in our mind? On what view of causality does this jargon of an explanation rest? No activity can be attributed to our surroundings without an admission on the part of the theorist that anthropomorphism may, at times, figure as a scientific description. What we here aim at is not an elaborate criticism of the rival theories of knowledge or perception. We do not believe that mind or its object is an existent. They are inseparable units in knowledge-relation. To avoid confusion, let us add that by mind is not here meant the soul or the self, but simply, the act of minding. Minding without an object as an object which is not minded is a philosophical superstition. This, however, does not imply that minding cannot be what it is independently of and outside any particular instance of object-knowing. Minding is a capacity of the minder and as a capacity it is underived from the nature of the object one minds. Though thus independent, in any particular case of objective experience, neither the object, nor the act of minding illuminating it, can be thought as capable of existing apart from each other. In what Kant calls 'transcendental reflection,' we may think them *away* from each other, focussing the reflective consciousness now on the side of the act, subsequently on the fact, but a particular act of minding is inseparable physically from its object and *vice versa*. Another point which may cause us troubles in the end needs be mentioned. When speaking of the object of minding we do not mean the finished object of knowing, or as Kant would call it, the *phenomenon*. The object of minding is the same as '*empirical intuition*,' or as we, common people, would otherwise call it 'sensation.'

It is to be noted that when describing objects of knowledge we speak of them as being 'inside' or 'outside' our mind, we do not really mean that they are either '*in*' us or '*without*' us. In both such cases, the simple fact which we want to describe is that our minding has an object against itself. Sometimes, the object, though related to our minding and inseparable from it, is related *as outside it*. At some other times, the very same content or a quite different

content is related to our mind *as inside it*. An object that is believed to be 'external to the mind' is not really outside it any more than the object described as internal to the mind is really inside it. Mind is not *in* space, and hence no space can intervene between it and its object. Mind is not, again, spatial, as we ordinarily understand the word 'spatial,' and hence no object can be *in* it. '*In*' the mind, and '*without*' the mind are expressions meaningful as mere descriptions. It is not unoften that we describe the Sun or the Moon as a shining plate. But do we seriously mean in such cases that the Sun or the Moon is really plate-like? Some describe the mind as a stream, some others as a flash from a torchlight ; thus far no confusion. The confusion results when we press the similies too far and identify the object described with the symbols by means of which we so describe it.

An explanation of such words as 'outside' and 'inside,' as we use them in connection with our description of the object of knowledge, will now exclusively engage our attention. Evidently, the phrases are borrowed expressions. In our ordinary perception, we, sometimes, perceive a table inside a room and a chair outside it. In exactly a similar way, though how appropriately we shall see afterwards, we name an object we know as being outside and another as being inside our mind or minding. But as the mind cannot be supposed to have any location in objective space, the expressions 'outside' the mind and 'inside' the mind are, simply, modes of description Moreover, the 'outside' and the 'inside' are not themselves outside or inside the mind. A regressus *ad infinitum* would necessarily accompany that suggestion. Kant was fully alive to this grave difficulty, and as a solution he suggested that space and time are not objective facts, they are subjective intuitions. But though subjective, with Kant Space and Time are not mere relations as Leibniz held. They are *a priori* and absolute concepts representing the receptive side of the knower.

The description of space and time as subjective capacities for receiving impressions or as '*forms of intuition*' is a land-mark in philosophical thought. Even the most unsympathetic critics of Kant will have the fairness to admit it. Our task henceforth will be one of reading that suggestion of Kant in its appropriate spirit.

When we say that we are perceiving a table, granting that a 'table' can be perceived, we mean nothing other than that we are

minding it. When minding the table, we believe ourselves to be minders and our activities as consisting in minding. The table is never known as minding itself. When, again, we say that we are thinking a table, there also we mean that we are minding it. This form of minding is a form of introspection and is distinguishable from the former which is extrospection. The consciousness of pain and other inter-organic feelings as well as of purely aesthetic contents we leave off from consideration for the present. Taking up the cases of objective perception and imagination, we note that while the content of the former implies an '*outsideness*,' that of the latter implies an '*insideness*.' Thus the table I see, is felt to be outside my perception while the image of the table seems to hold in my act of imagining it. We cannot take this '*outsideness*' or '*insideness*' as a character of the objective table. In the case of memory-image of the 'same' table, it is unintelligible how '*outsideness*' is superseded by '*insideness*,' if we attribute these characters to the objective table or the real table. Some realists will, as we know, assert that, in both the cases, the 'table' is a content of the real world and is capable of an extra-mental existence. We are sorry for not being able to appreciate their point. What sense can there be in the supposition that the table as we perceive it and as we picture it in imagination are both equally 'real' things? Of course they are real, both of them are real, but they are *real only for our minding*. They are objects of minding and are thus as real as minding itself.

'Empirically real' objects, sometimes, appear as having certain extra-mental sources and, at other times, as being *within* the mind. Now, mind being minding and minding being neither spatial nor being any thing in space, how can we account for '*insideness*' or '*outsideness*' which characterises the contents of our perception? Immanuel Kant is the only thinker who seriously took up this problem and attempted a scientific solution. He holds that it is the '*outer sense*' of the mind that makes us feel in extrospection that its data are from outside. The object of extrospection is not itself outside minding. But in extrospection minding has to operate through the outer sense, and as such, the datum, which is constructed from the body of an alien existence, is felt to have an extra-mental reference. In the case of imaging a table, the image by itself is felt to be inside the mind, as minding operates in this case through the inner sense. Thus, though neither the object of extrospection nor that of introspection

has any existence outside minding, still, in one case, minding reacts to its data *as outside it* and in the other, *as inside it*. The '*insideness*' and the '*outsideness*,' then, of the objects of minding do not pertain to their being or essence. Such characters are meaningful only with reference to the mode of operation of minding. These modes of operation are, according to Kant, twofold—outer sense and inner sense. It should not be forgotten, however, that the word 'sense,' as used in this connection, is really a verb and that it means the activity which we described as 'minding operation' or 'the operation of minding.' Space and Time are, according to Kant, the outer and the inner sense respectively. This will sound arbitrary and artificial to the non-Kantians; and even for the followers and sympathisers of Kant it has not that revolutionary meaning which Kant intended. The present essayist makes bold to say that the Kantian view of Space and Time, as outer and inner sense, has been properly grasped only by a very few intellectuals. Our mind is obsessed with the predilection that Space and Time are *things* of the objective world. To appreciate Kant's point we have got to unlearn what we have learnt previously of space and time either from authors or from traditions. Kant's meaning is this that space is nothing but *minding what is alien to the capacity of minding*. It is understandable that, when my friend pinches me, my body feels an alien substance and reacts to it *as* an outer existence. The 'outerness' of the pinching sensations lies not in the sensations themselves but in the mode of reacting to it. Similarly, when the self, in knowledge, is affected by an alien thing-in-itself, the receptive side of the subject reacts to the data or sensations *as space*; and this reaction as space gives the sensations their '*outward-ness*.' In the perception of the table, as distinct from the imagination of the table, the subject is affected by something alien. The 'alien-ness' of the source of the phenomenal table is felt through the subject's mode of reacting to it. The sensation of the table results in and through this mode of reaction and as such the table appears as spatial and involves a reference to an alien existence. This mode of operation is sensing *as* '*outer*' and it is described by Kant as outer sense or space. Thus space consists in the subject's being affected by something alien, and apart from its being the 'outer' receptivity of the subject, it is nothing.

Space is then our mode of reacting to an alien existence. The thing-in-itself is, according to Kant, that alien existence. It exists not

without us or our minding. To exist without us, it should have been *in* space; but it does not exist in space. What is in space is the sense-datum, while the thing-in-itself exists independently of spatial construction *The thing-in-itself of Kant is a felt alienness merely.* Though alien and unknown it is the source of sensations. The sensations are received from it or constructed out of it by minding as space. Space thus represents the mode of our being aware of an unknowable alien existence. It also gives us the idea that sensations are to be received or are to be constructed from something foreign to the self. The percept 'table' is felt to be outside our mind not because it is really so, but because it is constructed through the 'outward' operation of minding. To be outside minding it should be also outside space, but this is unthinkable.

But Space is not the only form of minding, there is another and it is Time. Mind not only reacts *as outer*, it also reacts *as inner*. It not only shapes the sensations or receives the presentations, but it also 'represents' or reproduces them. This latter activity is the faculty or mode of reproduction and it is another name for what Kant describes as 'Synthesis of Imagination.' The word 'Synthesis' is not to be taken as a nown, it means the synthesising act. The synthesising act in apprehension is space and in representation or reproduction is time. The latter is that moment of minding when minding is not meeting the alien thing-in-itself but is coming back to itself. This mode of 'inward' operation is the cause of representation of what is presented. In it the previously received data of the senses no longer point to the alien existence or the thing-in-itself, but appear in new robes and become the raw-material of *my* knowledge. In space, the data are *from* the alien existence, in time they are *for* the perciever. This expression will be misleading, although it is very difficult to improve upon it. What is meant is that the data of space are felt to have an extra-mental reference, while the data of time is felt to be *in* minding. Time is thus, according to Kant, not any objective fact. It is but the 'inward' surge of minding. And this 'inward' operation of minding as time, suggests Kant, is responsible for the privacy of imaged contents. A more elaborate treatment of this subject will be attempted in another essay which will shortly follow. The point raised is very simple to one who follows it in intellectual intuition and is likely to appear difficult to those who place undue emphasis on the mode of description. Language is permeated with words and phrases

which, though unavoidable for a winter, very often give only wrong suggestions, For example, when we speak of the *forward* movement of minding as space and of the *inward* movement as time we use expressions belonging exclusively to spatial relations. But notwithstanding it would be wholly wrong to suppose that minding, instead of being space and time, is in space or in time. We explain new thoughts by old expressions, for the old ones are the only expressions intelligible to the audience.

The foregoing may be made clear by an analogy. When in wrath I kick at a wall, I at first feel certain alien existence resisting my movement and repulsing it. Subsequently I feel pain in my limbs and am internally affected. The first impression of resistance is characterised by an '*outsideness*,' although the impression cannot be held to obtain in any region outside me. My later impression, on the other hand, implies an 'insideness,' although it cannot be located in any specific way. In a similar way, when my mind discovers an alien existence in being affected by it, it reacts as space. But when reproducing the impressions, not, however, as impressions (since this is *ex hypothesi* impossible), but as representations, it reacts as time.

Two points we wanted to establish. In the first place, mind, which is distinguishable from minder, is an instrumentality of knowing, is minding. In the second place, 'minding' functions as Space and Time. It should not be overlooked, however, that we have never identified minding with knowing. All that we have done thus far is describing minding as intrumental to knowing. Knowing is dependent on minding, for the categories, which are involved in the former, remain empty without the data minded. Knowing as a categorizing activity awaits minding as intuition. As knowing is dependent on minding, so is minding dependent on knowing, and, without knowing, the minded contents remain blind. We do not subscribe to the view that externally existent things can cause finished objects of knowledge in us. Our mind is not a basket for recieving ripe fruits, for the ripening and formation of which it is not responsible. It is a machinery that receives raw-materials, shapes and moulds them according to its own patterns and finally allows the intellect to 'finish' or to 'design' them according as the intelligent knower thinks it up to its satisfaction.

A few words need be added by way of answering the question we raised at the outset: If neither interaction, nor parallelism, nor

causation can explain knowledge-relation, what other theory can achieve that? As a reply, we suggest that the Kantian interpretation of knowledge-relation is the soundest. Causation is inadmissible as a valid explanation, for the notion of cause cannot hold true in the realm of the so-called real existents. Nor do we accept the opposite theory that mind can create knowledge of objects out of itself or out of nothing. An interaction between the mind and the object is impossible; for, the mind and the object do not interact upon one another. All that is intelligible is that mind receives impressions and that those impressions have a reference to something alien to the mind. This alien existence cannot *act on* the mind, it is the mind that is *affected by* it. The fact of the mind's being affected does not mean that the thing-in-itself causes anything in the mind. The mind we speak of is minding, and what is meant by saying that it is affected is that it meets an alien fact and in meeting it constructs the sensations. Kant denies all causality to the thing-in-itself. The thing-in-itself is unknown and is not therefore known as a cause.

The difficulty in explaining the Kantian view-point is heightened by its singularity and novelty. The Vedanta theory of perception resembles the Kantian theory, although that resemblance is mainly formal. The Samkhya theory is also allied to the Kantian but can not replace it. Mind in Kant does not go *outside* through the channels of the senses to meet the object, nor does it, like a liquid substance, take the shape of the object. The fundamental difference between the Vedanta theory of perception and the Kantian theory lies in the view of Space and Time as intuitions propounded by Kant. The Mind in Kant cannot be, again, compared to the block of marble of the Samkhya theorists. In Kant, mind is a functfon, not any staff—mental, or spiritual.

WHITHER, ELECTION?

RASHRANJAN BASU, M.A., B.L.

ELECTION, thy name is enfranchisement. Now is the era when thine is the kingdom, thine the power and thine the glory. With thy advent not Amaruth an Amaruth succeeds. At thy name, the powers that be look paler than Belshazzar when the mysterious hand in undecipherable letters announced his doom. Thou Janus-headed Deity ! with thy serener features thou drawest man close to thy bosom and with thy severer aspect thou scarest away the seated authority. A holy glee feels me when I hear thy approaching steps. As a bird of passage thou appearest at the appointed hour. Oh ! what a wild concourse of jocund din greets thee, breaking life's insipidity with hilarity and mirth and augering a fresh era. Like the vernal breeze dissolving the December Snow, thou revivest the drooping spirit of weary man. Thou herbinger of new hopes and longings ! In thy presence imperiousness stands like a guilty thing surprised. Thou Essence of Liberty ! can millennium be far off when thou art in our midst ? To thee be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen !

A thousand thanks to the genius of the age. The mystery shrouding the conflict between man and his Maker is at last dispelled—it is this very elective tendency in him. A psycho-analytic critic once casually but very pertinently observed that choice is as natural for the functioning of the mind as breath is for the body. It is an irrepressible sub-conscious urge. The blind English poet while flying on the wings of aerial beings failed to appreciate this mundane truth and his elaborate thesis in blank verse on the prime man's act is a mere appeasement of his hungering imagination. The original man spurned the idea of remaining like a well-cared-for animal in the Zoo of paradise for the diversion of the unfallen angelic host. To taste or not to taste —was the question. Great were his perplexities ! He wavered. The anarchy of indecision must have made him a victim of blank misgivings. At long last he succeeded. He chose. He has left you a rich heritage more precious than your hoarded gold or your inherited fee-simple. I wonder what would have happened to you had he remained the goody goody being that he was intended to be. If after

this you grope in the dark you are the veriest varlet that ever chewed with a tooth. How sad that none of the crude mechanisms of sand-glass or sundial were then thought of to give us the faintest idea as to when this self-prompted act was first conceived !

Reader, I may for your edification communicate to you the gist of a long dissertation on the philosophy of elections that once I had the privilege to learn forty-eighth hand from a Chinese savant whose pronouncements on the civil liberties of man are considered worthier than the scriptural Revelations. It is this: What is election ?—a manifestation of your free choice. What again is free choice—it is dictated by your reason. How is your reason formed ?—it is the abstraction of your views. How are these views acquired ?—they are prompted by your inclinations. How do your inclinations originate ? They take shape in accordance with your feelings ? How do your feelings emanate ? They arise in consequence of your temperament. What is the genesis of your temperament ? It is that living, flowing, tepid, ruddy liquid that in its unceasing course through your arteries and veins stamps you with either a sanguine or a choleric or a phlegmatic bent of mind. What then is this blood made of ? A moiety of it is your heritage and the other moiety your food supplies. Well then, your food filtrating through the inmost channels of your physical mechanism invigorates your heart-strings and sets them in motion. If the former chain of arguments is unassailable—and I believe, reader, your will also endorse it whole-heartedly—the irresistible conclusion unless human logic is to be distrusted—is that food is the origin of election. Ergo, reader, if you seek election, the wisest course for you is to approach with due humility the council of the cook, the butler, the steward and the rest, of your elector. Abide by the decision of this august body with scrupulous regard. Institute a thorough enquiry as to the food that he takes—I mean the spiced, cooked, savoury food that adorns his platter at the dinner-table. Fill your pantry with fish, meat, vegetables, fruits, sweets, etc., that have appeased man since he became a cooking animal. Let the most skilled person in the culinary art come to your help. Make your house a free banquet-hall. Loosen the strings of your purse without a shrug. I assure you, reader, you are sure to be the cynosure of all eyes and election will be yours.

Reader, hast thou ever thought that the height of thy whole being is made manifest by thy choice which, to put it short, declares what

thou art? Thy choice makes or mars thee. Despite thy world-wide acquaintance with men and things, it has perhaps accidentally escaped thy observation that since our poor sphere began to rotate round its axis no graver problem has taxed human understanding than this Art of Choice. Thou hast to acquire it with as much strenuous self-imposed exercise as thou dos't the art of persuasive eloquence or any other graceful accomplishment. Carlyle—shrewd as he was, having more depth than range of thinking—touched upon the merest fringe of it for his " Choice of Books " concerns the literate handfuls only. But what about the Carinthian boor or the shuddering tenant of the frizid zone or the naked Negro or the peasants living on Idra's cliffs or on Arno's shelvy sides ? The world was too big for the Scottish savant to comprehend, so he may be dismissed from consideration without much ado. A vein of pessimism overtakes me. Reader, just for a moment imagine what a huge volume of ink has flowed upon paper from the day God created man in His own image to the pupil age of the present time. But not a line upon this vital problem which like the sun or the moon affects everyone how highsoever or lowsoever he may be. To take a very homely illustration:—Curry and rice or bread and butter—I presume, reader, thou art none of the sect of lotus-eaters. Incidentally I may tell thee—but only incidentally for, believe me, I have not the least desire to disturb thy serenity—that there are a thousand kinds of bread, an equally large variety of butter, a much larger species of rice and as to curry, need I tell thee that its name is legion ? Now therefore the simple problem that I have set before thee conceals beneath its simple appearance a hugeness the magnitude of which is perplexingly aggressive. But this is by the way. If both these dishes are put before thee, thou hast to choose between the two, and who knows that thou wouldst not fumble as Morocco or Arragon did in the famous Belmontian election of caskets ?

Believe me, reader, neither Issac Bickerstaff nor Patridge has been my favourite author. Yet I foresee a catastrophe of a world-wide magnitude—ties of love and affection snapped, sanctity of home-life defiled, and reverence flouted from this unrestricted ranging of election—fever. An alarmist you might call me but I speak not unfortified by facts. Election breeds—not that it should—animosity, as swamp does—Malaria. Take this hypothetical case: both thou and the issue of thy own loins choose to fight for the same seat, what in

strict technicality is called a "contest in election." Thy own blood refusing to surrender his civic or political rights in thy favour—nay, not this alone, but exposing thy weaknesses, thy idiosyncracies, thy hobbies, thy lapses, in fact every petty detail that thy smooth exterior conceals. Wouldst thou not in thy blind wrath curse thy son as Noah did Ham's offspring Canaan? Would not the villainy of his nature make thee think that the earth whereon thou standest is "like a thing unfirm"? Wouldst thou not leave the serene shelter of thy roof helter-skelter or there is no equity stirring. Heaven forfend thee, reader, if thou art drawn into such a vortex of calamity!

Reader, be not dismayed. A suggestion—a priceless suggestion have I procured for thee, but not without difficulty. I wrote to several centres of civic life in the world. No reply from anywhere. At last when I had despaired of finding any remedy, there arrived a letter from the distant Islands of Tortoise in the Mid-Atlantic. I leapt up with joy crying "Eureka" with the ancient Philosopher. Here is the infallible recipe revealed for thy cure: Praise thy opponent for a virtue in which he is most lacking. Heap upon him as many adjectives—of course, in the superlative degree—as thy vocabulary permits. A miracle hast thou performed. Half thy battle is won. Thy elector, incomparably inferior to thee—which I doubt not—will fail to see through thy insinuations. Thou praising thy rival instead of thyself! Can it be resisted? The tide of public opinion changes its course in thy favour. Thou hast touched upon a chord which vibrates as thy fingers stray along it. Thy rival is dis-armed. Would he have the cheek to denounce thee? But mind you, let thy praise be Antony-like and thy Brutus-opponent will take to his heels. My only comment upon it is: If non-violence can win political freedom, why not praise of one's opponent in political elections? The basic idea is the same in both the cases—is it not?

Reader, one word on the election day. A little grandeur surrounds thee this day though thy parents might have lost the silver spoon that thy toothless gums ought to have held at thy birth. Thou art not Mr. X. Y. Z.—a boorish pedestrian or a flouting Jack in the eyes of thy rich neighbours, a Roll-Royce not bellowing thy importance. The continual raps at thy door announce thy prominence. Poor contestants—sorry abject objects of thy disdainful look—with the honey of Hybla dripping from their tongues, vainly seek to gain thy audience. Thy servant, possibly thy maid—the only one, I am afraid,

of the kind that manages thy household—disappoints them by repeated answers in the negative. Thou mayst be a younger son to a younger brother—but what of that! Thy name appears in the list of high-souled electors. Thou art the arbiter of the day's destiny. A candy deal of courtesy, holiday and lady terms flow in quick succession to wrench a smile from thee—an essential preliminary to the assurance of thy support. The ballot-paper containing thy pencil scratch embodies a declaration far more epoch-making than the antedated Magna Charta or the Petition of Rights of olden times. How carelessly thou droppest it in the ballot-box, but dost thou know the trepidations of the supplicant of thy favour? To him the precious contents of this cylindrical-shaped repository far outweighs the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind. Cheques, bank-notes, coins of gold and silver fly in all directions in what is by far the most poignant of all human contests. Like the Earl of Warwick of historical fame, thou art the maker or unmaker of authority. Without thy knowing thou hast become great. Thy rugged cottage may be situate down a narrow alley with the melancholy of moor-ditch around it. But is not the dingy path transformed into a sunny avenue leading to a sacred shrine? Ah! how each rival aspirant approaches thee with a scented kerchief folded over his nose and his efforts to ingratiate himself in thy favour, filling thee with a sweet complacency. Thou art the lord of the manor, the rest are serfs. Sky-rending shouts acclaim thy approach, as if thou art an Aristides or Themistocles in the Marathon of the polling booth. The surging multitude parts at thy advent as the waters parted at the rod of Moses. Despite all this, if thou insistest in calling the election a huge hoax, then in the Macbethian apothegm all that I have written is "a tale told by an . . . full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL STUART IN SIKH CAPTIVITY, FROM 3RD JANUARY TO 24TH OCTOBER, 1791

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LIEUTENANT-COLONEL Stuart was the Commander of a detachment of British Troops stationed at Anupshahr (25 miles E. of Bulandshahr) on the Ganges to guard the fords leading from the Maratha country in the Doab into the territory of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, an ally of the British Government, whose dominions served as a buffer state in those days.

For many years past the Sikhs of the Panjab, particularly of the cis-Sutlej districts, carried on almost annual plundering raids into the upper Gangetic Doab. On this occasion a party of Sikhs numbering about 1,000 men,[1] under the leadership of Bhanga Singh, the chief of Thanesar in Karnal district, had come on a predatory incursion against Sindhia's possessions in the upper Gangetic Doab. They as a rule concentrated their atttention on the Maratha country alone plundering two or three villages only belonging to the Wazir.[2] The Governor-General expressed his gratification at the abstention of the Sikhs from extending depredations to the Wazir's territory.[3]

Clear instructions had been issued to Colonel Stuart not to provoke the Sikhs in any manner whatsoever, and the same desire was conveyed to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh :—

" Colonel Stuart will be careful that the Seiks hovering about his station shall receive no provocation or pretence from the conduct of the troops under his command to extend their incursions from the Marhatta districts to those of your Excellency, and he will observe such spirit of forbearance towards them as shall be consistent with the object of defending your Excellency's frontier against their inroads. The expediency of your Excellency's servants and subjects in that

1 Dilliyethil Marathyanchen Raj Karanen, II, Additional, No. 20 (Marathi).
2 Poona Residency Correspondence, I, 375.
3 Imperial Records, Foreign Miscellaneous, No. 46, C. Stuart, Secretary to the Governor-General, to the Resident at Lucknow, dated the 4th February, 1791.

quarter carrying themselves towards these people in the same prudent manner is so obvious that I have no doubt of your Excellency's having instructed them long before this to that effect." [1]

Early in January, 1791, they lay encamped in the close neighbourhood of Anupshahr. In the morning of the 3rd January, they heard that an Englishman was out riding alone. Some of the daring Sikh youths out of mere adventure fell upon him and took him prisoner. It was Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart.

The Colonel tried to hide his identity, but the Sikhs not caring for his name and rank decided to take him to the Panjab for the thrill of keeping an Englishman in their captivity and the temptation of receiving a good ransom. The Colonel's assistant, Captain Breadley, on learning the sad news detached two companies to endeavour a rescue. The Sikhs came up in large bodies, and a smart firing took place. Finding the fierce fight raging, the Captain at the head of the rest of the detachment marched out to reinforce his troops; but on his approach the Sikhs immediately made off with the Colonel. They could not be pursued for want of a cavalry force, and besides, the Sikhs had reached by this time the borders of the Maratha districts into which the British troops could not be led without the previous sanction of Mahadji Sindhia, the chief of that territory.

The Sikhs moved to Aurangabad (20 miles north-west). Colonel Stuart felt despaired of his life, and managed to write a letter to Breadley asking him to put pressure upon Nawab Faizullah Khan of Rampur to secure his release through the intercession of Northern Rohilla Chiefs of Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpur districts.[2]

The Colonel was well treated by the Sikhs, and they held out hopes of enlargement to him, but they daily retreated towards their country, plundering all the way, and by the 10th January were nearly 100 miles from Anupshahr. The Sikhs crossed over the Jumna, and went to their respective places; while Colonel Stuart was kept in the fort of Thanesar.[3]

The Nawab Wazir of Oudh was in favour of immediate despatch of a force against the Sikhs, and pursuing them into the Maratha territory. He suggested that course not only to secure the release of

1 Imperial Records, Persian Correspondence, Letters Written, dated the 14th Jan., 1791.
2 Imperial Records, Political Proceedings, 21st January, 1791, No. 5, Captain Breadley to Edward Otto Ives, dated Anupshahr, the 4th January, 1791.
3 *Ibid.*, No. 11, Colonel White commanding at Fatehgarh, dated the 10th January, 1791.

Colonel Stuart but also in revenge for the insult of taking him and for the damage they had done to his district. In support of this measure he urged that forbearance to pursue them would encourage the Sikhs to raid his country more frequently. Edward Otto Ives, the British Resident, had two objections to this course. Firstly, there was the fear of giving offence to Sindhia, though he expected that Major Palmer, the British Resident at his court, would easily get over that difficulty. Secondly, there was the danger "of irritating the Sikhs, so as to convert what are now only incidental and partial incursions for plunder, into a settled enmity and systematic desire to distress his Excellency's country." [1]

The matter was referred to the Governor-General who knowing well the past history of the Sikhs believed that any provocation from the British troops "to those free-booters might (however slight) have the effect of inducing them to extend their depredations from the Marhatta districts to those of his Excellency's, although they should not previously have entertained any such hostile designs." [2] He consequently advised no operations against the Sikhs with the exception of strengthening British outposts on the frontier[3]:—

"The Board were sorry to learn from Captain Breadley's letter to the commanding officer at Fatteh Ghurr that the Seiks had so suddenly departed from that forbearance and delicacy towards the Vizier's dominions and subjects which they had so lately the pleasure to understand had marked the conduct of those free-booters in their approach to his Excellency's frontier. Their concern on this occasion has been considerably heightened by the untoward circumstance of Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart's having fallen into the enemy's hands.

"Anxious as the Board are for the security and tranquillity of his Excellency's dominions and determined as they also are to maintain

[1] Imperial Records, Political Proceedings, 17th January, 1791, No. 4, Edward Otto Ives to Lord Cornwallis, dated Lucknow, the 8th January, 1791.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 3, C. Stuart to Edward Otto Ives, dated Fort William, the 13th January, 1791.

[3] The British position at Anupshahr and other places was considerably strengthened. The force at Anupshahr now consisted of the 2nd Regiment of cavalry, a company of artillery, and four battalions of sepoys with a suitable proportion of field ordnance and three companies of 3rd European battalions. Besides, 700 Kandahar horses and a number of elephants were to be provided by the Wazir to reinforce the forces at Anupshahr. Two battalions of sepoys were left for the protection of the cantonment at Fatehgarh; while the greater part of the European battalion, the artillery company, and one battalion of Indian infantry were stationed at Cawnpore. The commanding officer at Chunar was instructed to send forward to Cawnpore one or two battalions from his station on the requisition of the Resident at Lucknow (Imperial Records, Foreign Miscellaneous, No. 46, C. Stuart to Edward Otto Ives, dated Fort William, the 17th January, 1791).

those objects by every means in their favour, they nevertheless think the strong operations suggested to you by the Minister would but conduce to the attainment of such desirable ends. They were accordingly pleased to find that you had resisted Hyder Baig's instances to this effect ; and much approved of the prudence and caution which governed you on that occasion.

* * * *

" The Board are hopeful that this new disposition of the troops in your quarter will meet the wishes of the Vizier and Minister and effectually answer the purpose of protecting the dominions of his Excellency from the future inroads of this irregular enemy who is on no account to be sought or followed beyond the boundary of his Excellency's country.

* * * *

" The Board rely on the same prudence which guided you under the circumstances already noticed in the former part of this letter for your restraining the court at which you reside from plunging into avoidable hostilities or difficulties, and for your inculcating on every occasion in your correspondence with colonel Eyres the propriety of his observing the same cautious conduct."[1]

This policy was further advocated :—

" It is decidedly our opinion that you should discourage every proposition that may be thought of with respect to a junction of the Company's and Mahratta troops to repel or chastise these people."[2]

The Nawab Wazir of Oudh and Edward Otto Ives, the British Resident at Lucknow, both tried to gain their end by diplomatic means. They wrote friendly letters to Bhanga Singh. They attempted to give him an impression that the Sardar was not at all responsible for the Colonel's capture, but he was taken by a party of straggling Sikhs. They stated that they were glad as the Colonel was with him and he was well treated by him. They expected that the Colonel must have been set at liberty long before this letter reached him, promising that they would inform the Governor-General of his friendly behaviour towards the Colonel. Bhanga Singh's reply was couched in the same diplomatic language. He made professions of friendship, but did not mention a word about restoring the Colonel to liberty.[3]

1 Imperial Records, Foreign Miscellaneous, No. 46.
2 *Ibid.*, dated 21st January, 1791.
3 Imperial Records, Political Proceedings, 13th February, 1791, No. 3.

Along with Bhanga Singh's reply Colonel Stuart sent a letter to Edward Otto Ives. He stated that Bhanga Singh was a self-willed person who ruled rather than submitted to the opinion of others. Bhanga Singh declared Stuart the assassin of Shuja-ud-Daulah, the late Nawab of Oudh, and said that he would realise a large sum of money from his son, wife and mother for his blood. "Were you acquainted with the licentious barbarity of this people, you would readily conceive the situation of hazard I have hitherto been in."

He suggested that the reply from the Wazir and the Resident should be " not only civil but friendly, and his Excellency ought also to send him some presents," because " no other mode I assure you will effect any good purpose." About Bhanga Singh he wrote, " At present I am in a good deal of favour with the chief, but he is very unsteady, and though not outwardly violent is very implacable ; he is by much the best soldier and officer amongst them." He further added that if " Bhanga Singh is on this occasion conciliated, much benefit may be derived from my accident in supplying ourselves and the Wazir with horses for cavalry to any amount should this be any object either to ours or to his Excellency's Government. You have only to procure me letters of credit on Patealah, Saheb Singh's capital, with letters to Saheb Singh from the Wazir, and from our Government to enable me to procure any number of excellent cavalry horses that may be wanted." In the end he requested the Resident for a letter of credit on some respectable person at Thanesar for cash that he might require for private expenses.[1]

Edward Otto Ives in consequence of the Colonel's request procured for him a letter of credit on Patiala and a bill of exchange for Rs. 1,000 on Thanesar.[2]

It appeared almost certain that Bhanga Singh would not release the Colonel without a ransom ; but the Governor-General was not prepared to humiliate himself by adopting this course. In a letter to the Resident he stated :—

" The Board had never prior to the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo (February) entertained a doubt of your having done all

[1] Imperial Records, Political Proceedings, 18th February, 1791, No. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 3.

that was incumbent on you towards effecting the enlargement of Colonel Stuart; and are perfectly satisfied with the exertions which you have hitherto made for that purpose. It must not be understood, however, that it is their intention to take any part in the negotiation for ransoming Colonel Stuart, since that proceeding, which is not perhaps altogether unexplainable (however well meant) even as a private transaction, would as a measure of Government be liable to very weighty objections."[1]

The Governor-General, however, wrote a very friendly letter, dated 7th March, 1791, to Bhanga Singh for the purpose of securing the Colonel's release:—

"When it was reported to the Council about two months ago that a gentleman of the Company's service had been forcibly carried off by a party of Seiks from the station of Anupshahr, and when this Government was in consequence urged to resent the insult thus apparently offered to it in the person of one of its officers, I was so well satisfied of the impossibility of any Seik Sirdar's committing such an act of violence against the subject of a state between which and his nation there had always subsisted the most friendly intercourse that I did not hesitate to believe that there was some misunderstanding in the affair which a short time would clear up, at once to our satisfaction and to the credit of the Seik nation.

"Accordingly I soon had the pleasure to learn that Mr. Stuart had not been seized by a party of Seiks but by a roving banditti, whose object was merely plunder, and out of whose hands you very kindly rescued him. On receiving this account I no longer doubted that you would take an early opportunity of sending him back in safety to his station, and am still persuaded that you would have done so had not circumstances made it necessary for you to proceed immediately to Thanasher and of course to take Mr. Stuart along with you.

"Since your return to Thanasher I have had the satisfaction of seeing two or three letters from Mr. Stuart bearing testimony

[1] Imperial Records, Foreign Miscellaneous, No. 46, C. Stuart to Resident at Lucknow, dated Fort William, the 7th March, 1791.

to your friendly treatment of him. Mr. Stuart's report of your behaviour towards him is the more pleasing to me as it proves that I was right in the opinion I formed at first of this affair, and as it is altogether agreeable to the character of the Seik nation, it is indeed desirable that all neighbouring states should maintain a good understanding with one another, and it is on this principle that the English Government is particularly attentive to the security and ease of those Seiks living under its protection, at Patna, and other places in the English territories, a fact which you will no doubt have learned from many of your nation.

"It is now necessary to the perfection of the friendship, which has so long subsisted between us and which it is the sincere desire of this Government should not be interrupted, that you send Mr. Stuart back to his station, or to Delhi, as may best suit your convenience, under a proper escort. By so doing you will increase the goodwill we bear you, and defend your reputation as a soldier endowed with foresight and qualified to manage affairs of consequence.

"Understanding that your country breed of horses is very fine, and our Government occasionally wanting some to mount their cavalry, I could wish you to charge Mr. Stuart (when you dismiss him) with your opinion as to the practicability of our supplying ourselves from your quarter to the end that if the measure be agreeable to you proper terms may be nagociated for that purpose between us."[1]

At the suggestion of Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Rai Singh, the Chief of Buriya, was engaged to persuade Bhanga Singh to release the Colonel, and he told Rai Singh in plain words that "he will not release the Colonel without a ransom; that the Sikhs fear no human being, and that he does not wish to receive any further application from him (Roy Singh) unless he can settle about the money."[2]

Jafar Khan, the commandant at Daranagar had warned Bhanga Singh against incurring the displeasure of the British Government. Bhanga Singh's reply to it is also found in his letter to the Secretary to the Governor-General, stating that he hoped to return to the Doab very soon.

[1] Imperial Records, Persian Correspondence, Letters Written, No. 38.

[2] Imperial Records, Political Proceedings, 13th May, 1791, No. 1, Edward Otto Ives to Earl Cornwallis, dated Lucknow, the 4th May, 1791.

Bhanga Singh's letter which was received on the 14th May, 1791, ran as follows :—

" Your favor arrived at a happy time, filled me with delight, and changed the pain of absence to pleasure ; as to what was written by your friendly pen in manifestation of unanimity and concord, in truth this is not confined to writing. I was convinced of it before you wrote with regard to the wickedness and villainy of Tippoo Naik, who being elated with pride and haughtiness turned from the path of obedience and allegiance to the English and raised the head of rebellion. What was written concerning the extirpation of that source of disturbance appears highly proper, no doubt he will receive the reward of his ill deeds.

" The standards of Khalsa Jeu (the Seiks) are conjointly erected in the Hill country for the punishment of the Hill people. It is probable that in a short time the object of the Khalsa Jeu will be completed by the successful termination of the contests with that seditious people and the Khalsa Jeu very quickly return to the Doab. As to what you write about the release of Colonel Stuart all points have been explained to Roy Singh. You will no doubt be particularly informed on the subject by letter from him. I trust that till the time of meeting you will continue to fill the cup of desire with the effusions of your friendly pen which will be the means of increasing our friendship."[1]

The reply of Bhanga Singh deeply disappointed all those concerned in the Colonel's release. Jafar Khan suggested armed hostilities. He thought he could win over the Nawab of Kunjpura and the neighbouring Hill rajas to the side of the British and he also expected to secure assistance from certain Sikh chiefs against Bhanga Singh. Rai Singh on the other hand proposed that the fort of Kunjpura with all the property therein should be handed over to Bhanga Singh in return for the Colonel's enlargement. Failing this he recommended a scheme of bribing some of the zamindars in the neighbourhood who would effect the Colonel's release from the fort of Thanesar when Bhanga Singh was away to the hills on a campaign. But on mature considerations these plans were not considered feasible of execution.[2]

[1] Imperial Records, Political Proceedings, 13th May, 1791, No. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 1.

Edward Otto Ives in a letter to C. W. Malet, Resident at Poona, dated Lucknow, the 12th May, 1791, stated that he was convinced ransom was the only means by which the Colonel could be released:—

"The Poor Colonel is shut up in the fort of Thaneshwar and has lately been very ill. It is a most awkward circumstance on all account and I fear the only way of the Colonel's recovering his freedom is paying his own ransom if Bhanga Singh can be brought to accept of anything reasonable."[1]

On the 1st July, 1791, it was again reported by a Maratha agent that the Nawab Wazir of Oudh had written to Sindhia for assistance in order to secure the release of the "Frangi."[2]

Bhanga Singh ultimately had his own way. He was offered Rs. 20,000 to release the Colonel; but the Sikh chief demanded one lakh of rupees. In the end Rs. 60,000 was paid to him through Begam Samru, and the Colonel was set free on the 24th October, 1791. Four English officers and a company of soldiers were sent from Anupshahr to Delhi to bring the Colonel. Shah Alam II, the Mughal Emperor, granted them audience on the 23rd November, 1791. The Colonel and the other officers paid a nazar of 11 gold muhars and in return received robes of honour.[3]

[1] Poona Residency Correspondence, I, 375.

[2] Dilliyethil, II, 63.

[3] Dilliyethil, II, 28, 39, and Additional, 20. Edward Otto Ives, in a letter to the Governor-General, stated, "From these it appears that Bhanga Singh has declared his determination, from which he has sworn not to depart, not to release the Colonel without a ransom of Rs. 60,000 rupees." (Imperial Records, Political Proceedings, 9th March, 1791, No. 25.) Poona Residency Correspondence, I, p. 375, in a footnote, wrongly states that the Colonel was released for a ransom of Rs. 15,000.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL OUTLOOK IN LITERARY CRITICISM

AMIYAKUMAR SEN

III

CULTURE AND LITERATURE

THE sociological school of criticism is mainly concerned with the inter-relation between literature and its environment. It is the cultural background which conditions literary taste both of the artist and of the common people and thus influences literature. In order to determine the cultural level of the common people and its influence on the mind of the artist, the older methods of criticism, it is urged, are not fully adequate. The scholar and the critic base their judgments on an analysis of such artistic productions alone as have stood the test of time. They seek to discover and formulate principles of artistic creation by reference to significant works of art ; and this they do because their outlook is æsthetic rather than sociological. The sociologist in criticism has an outlook entirely different. He wants to determine the character of the popular taste ; and, so, he has to follow an inductive method of investigation. Every scrap of evidence revealing the true condition of the popular taste and popular culture is of importance to him. He can ignore nothing. The " best-sellers in arts " which captured popular imagination and then sank into oblivion are ignored by the scholar and the critic, specially when they try to establish standards of critical judgment ; for such literary productions cannot, according to them, be properly recognised as literature. The sociologist, however, cannot, and does not, ignore "best-sellers". They have exerted, he asserts, an enormous influence upon the minds of the common people and have shaped the human spirit at least for the time being. They are, very often, the reflection of the common mind and, as such, are of very great value for our investigations into the nature of culture prevalent in a particular period. " Best-sellers in all arts, exemplifying as they do the most general levels of attitude-development are worthy of very close study. No theory of criticism is satisfactory which is not able to explain their wide appeal and give clear reasons

why those who disdain them are not necessarily snobs," The " best-sellers " are, however, of significance because they throw some light not only on the conditions of life which made them possible, but on the development of the popular taste during different ages of literature as well.

The genuine social life of the Elizabethan age ; the prevalence of the drama with " its subtle rhythms and its sustained expression of complex modes of thought ; " the tales of folk-history and traditional heroes of the people ; legends—classical biblical, and mediaeval—rendered picturesque by popular ballads ; it is out of these that the Elizabethans acquired a level of culture almost unattainable in these modern days of cheap popular education. Their contact with such inspiring culture-materials enabled them to reach a high standard of mental alertness and concentration. The reading public was limited and comparatively homogeneous. Poets and artists, themselves products of the same environment, were always sure of a genuine community responding spontaneously to their artistic productions. Apart from fine-spun dreams of *Euphues* and *Arcadia* mainly meant to provide entertainment for the sophisticated courtiers of the age, there had grown up a popular literature racy of the soil. "It is not unhealthy, it satisfies no morbid cravings, offers nothing in the way of wish-fulfilment and gives no scope for day-dreaming."

The puritanic culture of the later seventeenth century and the earlier eighteenth was virile and strong. The popularity of the Authorised Version, the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Paradise Lost* is very significant as showing the mental and spiritual outlook of the common people belonging to that age. The high seriousness of these literary masterpieces penetrated into the grimmest and poorest Puritan household. For well over a century they remained "the inevitable, if not the only books in the home of the decent working man—an invaluable educational influence with whatever purpose they might have been read." The *Pilgrim's Progress*, revealing as it did, men as they really were, gave to its readers a pattern of life where there were no cheap systems of rewards and punishments. Bunyan's morality did not ignore the realities of life and his descriptions never sought to produce vague surges of emotions. The language of the *Bible* associated as it is with the spiritual experiences of many generations of Christians could draw upon the accumulated associations of a race and thus build up the personality of its readers.

Milton with his austere view of life toned up the otherwise flabby moral fibre of the common man. The people of the age found in these literary masterpieces a spiritual sustenance which invigorated them ; and their popularity showed that the soil was congenial to the seeds they tried to implant therein.

In the eighteenth century the puritanic seriousness persisted. " The middle state or what might be called the upper station of low life " devoted its leisure hours to "improved reading." The common people had their day-dreams but their dreams were securely based on " solid bourgeois interests." Satisfied with their own ways of life they did not covet the sophisticated manners of the aristrocratic classes. Their ideals of morality were not refined but they were not cheap either. They did not appreciate poetic justice of the crude type, yet they demanded some recognition of moral principles in the pattern of values presented by a literary artist. Crude appeals to emotions could not succeed with people so "incurious where their feelings are concerned ;" hence the "absence of felt sentiment, the concentration on facts of the property-owning kind," "the decent moralising, the businesslike 'placing' of character." Defoe was popular because his interests were identical with those of his readers.

From 1750 to 1850 the history of popular culture presents us with the significant picture of men who, "born to poverty and often wretchedness, without any formal education" or even association with cultured people, acquired a perfectly genuine feeling for literature. Their puritanic outlook made them serious-minded ; their education taught them the value of cumulative pleasure ; and so, Gibbon and Locke, Jonson, Shakespeare, Milton, Hume, Swift, Addison, Goldsmith—it was these stimulating thinkers and artists who formed their taste.

There were, however, the upper classes, the aristocracy and the nobility who revelled in the 'wit' of the Restoration comedy and the refined translations of de Scudery. The reading public was gradually being divided into selfcontained compartments when the suave Addison and humourous Steele entered the scene. Their wholesome " project of making wit useful," sought to bridge the gulf between these two worlds. They sought to " cultivate and polish human life," " banish vice and ignorance out of the territories of Great Britain " and " establish among Englishmen a taste of polite writing " ; and throughout the eighteenth century this compromise between wit and

virtue continued to hold its sway in England. The wide circulation of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* spread among the people of England a standard of conduct and manners which was based on virtue on the one hand and refinement on the other.

There is discernible a considerable change in the popular taste during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Contemporary life still continues to be the basis of literature but the emphasis has been shifted from "the regulation of property to the regulation of the feelings." The old conception of refined moderation persists and sensibility is regulated by decorum. A rational code of feeling seems to characterise literature—"a sense of standards even in the realm of emotion." Richardson and Smollett in fiction and a return to emotion in poetry were the characteristic features of this transition period.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century an enormous growth of the reading public led to a gradual yet comprehensive change in the literary scene. The sale of books in general increased prodigiously; all ranks and degrees gradually formed the reading habit. The circulating libraries came to play their part in this extension and consequent vulgarisation of culture. Instead of the complex appeal of the previous literature a refined form of emotional self-indulgence gradually established itself in the popular mind. As Coleridge observes in his *Biographia Literaria*, "For as to the devotees of the circulating libraries, I dare not compliment their pass-time or rather kill-time with the name of reading. Call it rather a sort of beggarly day-dreaming, during which the mind of the dreamer furnishes for itself nothing but laziness and a little mawkish sensibility; while the whole *material* and imagery of the doze is supplied *ab extra* by a sort of mental *camera obscura* manufactured at the printing office, with *pro tempore* fixes, reflects and transmits the moving phantasm of one man's delirium so as to people the barrenness of a hundred other brains afflicted with the same trance or suspension of commonsense and all definite purpose." The Reviews, for some time at least, stemmed the tide towards this impoverishment of emotional life and vulgarisation of popular culture. They with their "refined spirit of criticism," and their accurate representation of public taste, established a high standard of criticism and applied it to all forms of popular literature. The tradition was still there; and the reading public had not grown numerous enough to submerge it.

The draining of the country into the cities, the mechanisation of

human activities due to industrialism now came to influence the course of cultural development in England. The introduction of cheap fiction with its emphasis on sensations and on 'sensibility' developed a reading public sharply differentiated from the older generation of readers. "Because of new commercial conditions the beginnings of a split between popular and cultivated taste became apparent;" and there gradually grew up "a class of literature usurping in many respects, intentionally or unintentionally, the preacher's office and doing so principally by preaching to the nerves." A commercial atmosphere floats around the works of this class. According to the Gresham's Law of literature, the cheap sensation-mongering type gradually replaced the serious. Literary art now came to mean subtle exploitation of the reading public. Novel-reading became the predominant characteristic of popular culture; and the novelist had to come down to the level of his readers. Literature no longer formed the popular taste, it merely followed it. Industrialism had its repercussions on culture as well. Mechanisation was so successful as to leave its indelible stamp not only on the economic activities of men but on his social customs and religious practices as well. "Not the external and physical alone is now managed by machinery but the internal and spiritual also. Here too nothing follows its natural course, nothing is left to be accomplished by old natural methods. Faith, hope and the practice of every one are founded on mechanism of one kind or another" (Edinburgh Review, 1829).

Journalism has, in modern times, exerted a formative influence over the minds of the common people. In the earliest days journals acted as a unifying agent. They bound together the different classes by preserving with a commendable sense of responsibility and authority, an ideal standard of taste and opinion. Even when education spread among the working classes popular Penny Magazines discussed subjects of the broadest and simplest character—striking points of natural history, accounts of great works of art, descriptions of antiquities, biographies of great men, elementary principles of language and even "established facts in statistics and political economy." They took it for granted that there were among their readers a genuine desire for self-improvement and an intelligent interest in current affairs. Towards the closing decades of the nineteenth century however, journalism was reconstructed on business principles. It sought to supply what the public wanted and suited itself to the minds of its

readers. Circulation became the only criterion for determining the status of a journal. The journalist no longer maintained that high standard of responsibility which had been prevalent in earlier times. Appeals "to the 'kiddy heart' that is in every one of us 'grown up,'" deliberate attempts to write "innocuous twaddle" for the "immense lower-middle class public" became the order of the day. Instead, therefore, of levelling up, journalism consciously tried to level its standard down to the lowest limit of popular culture. Northcliff "frankly appealed to the unintelligent many.....because he had more sympathy with them and because they were as the sands of the sea in number." The wide circulation of journals, in these days, has thus merely strengthened the tendency towards vulgarisation of culture.

There were also other factors at work. As early as 1834 Tom Moore had emphasised "the ruinous effects to literature likely to arise from the boasted diffusion of knowledge." Matthew Arnold had similarly referred to the danger of having literary standards reversed by the uneducated and semi-educated masses. It is not, however, the diffusion of knowledge, but the nature of the knowledge diffused which affected the standards of taste. Education now meant mere gathering of information. The ideals of a keen, intellectual and outstanding personality which characterised the earlier generations were now replaced by ideals of correctness and sport. Scientific research also took away a very large number of real intellectuals from culture. The concept of the natural and not of the cultured man became supreme. The application of business principles to all departments of life, the emphasis on circulation and popularity led to the recognition of the average man, and not of the intellectual, as the standard. The self-complacency of the average man, the fear of the herd, or its approval, the peace of mind which comes from conformity—these became the predominating tendencies characteristic of popular literature. "Herd values in Art" were sought to be strengthened by ridiculing established standards of taste as 'high-brow.' The commercial side of literature was emphasised at the expense of its cultural aspect. And yet, owing to the absence of any social life worth the name and the monotonous activities of an industrial civilisation it is all the more necessary for the common man to come into intimate contact with a literature which can, by means of its art and ideals, bring out the best in him.

This survey of the history of popular taste brings out the close relationship between literature and its cultural environment. "The

capacity of the general reader for cumulative reading is formed or destroyed by environment." It depends "on mental habits less personal than social." "Susceptibility to tone (*i.e.*, the attitude of the author to the reader) is a test of manners and the quality of the popular author's feeling (*i.e.*, the attitude of the author to what he has to say) is an indication of the degree of seriousness the age permits and the nature of his intention is conditioned by the degree of familiarity with the literary technique at which the general public has arrived." The true artist transcends these conditions imposed on him by his environment; but situated as he now is, in the midst of a populace stratified according to their different levels of culture and yet eager to enjoy vicariously a life which is not theirs and a literary business world which consciously caters to the existing popular taste, it has now become well-nigh impossible for him to obtain a decent hearing.[1]

Sociological criticism of this type is more concerned with the history of popular culture than with its relationship to literature. The influence of great literature on the culture-pattern is indeed recognised; and the gradual building up of the cultural environment in intimate association with significant works of literary art properly emphasised. What, however, is missed in criticism of this type is the part that the cultural environment plays in the literary creation. The very method critics of this school follow precludes the possibility of a deeper analysis into the problems of the interdependence between the literary artist on the one hand and the social ego on the other. They only explain the development and decay of culture among the common people and describe the conditions under which it flourished. They search out the reasons—political, social and economic—for the debasement of popular culture but do not go further into more fundamental questions. The outlook is more sociological than aesthetic.

Even in his interpretation of cultural history the sociologist in criticism ignores altogether the cultured minority and its influence on the mass-mind. It is a historical fact that cultural patterns gradually spread from one stratum of society to another. However isolated economic and other factors might make them, the different classes have thousand and one occasions to come into intimate contact one with the other and such contacts are fruitful of far-reaching effects.

[1] *Vide* Fiction and Reading Public—Q. D. Leavis, 1932, Culture and Environment—F. R. Leavis, Mass Civilisation and the Minorty Culture—F. R. Leavis.

Ideas and ideals are never stationary ; they have a curious way of communicating themselves to the most unlikely minds, and even in these days of mechanisation, there are enough indications to show that what was regarded as 'high-brow' in the past has passed into the current coin of the realm. In their representation of modern society as divided into culture-tight compartments they seem to ignore this dynamic nature of ideas and ideals.

The reasons for changes in cultural outlook are far more complex than they are represented to be. The social and economic factors do play a very prominent part in such changes. The capitalistic system of modern society, the mechanistic outlook on life which it encourages, the intrusion into the realm of art of methods more proper in the economic world,—they are indeed responsible, to a very great extent, for the debasement of culture discernible in modern times. But the human mind is not a mere passive product of socio-economic forces. It can and does very often react violently against these forces themselves ; and literature is, in many cases, the expression of such a revolt. Cultural history often presents us with the spectacle of reactions against prevalent conventions and ideals which, gathering strength in course of their development, bring about a complete change in the popular outlook. Critics of this group ignore this aspect of the question especially in their prognosis of the cultural *malaise* in modern times ; nor do they, in their criticism, seem to recognise the fact that even as great literature influences cultural traditions it can also break up such traditions in order to establish new patterns of values. Their description of the transitions from one cultural outlook to another does not do justice to the very important part played by literature in such transformations.

The sociological study of the growth, development and decay of popular culture brings into prominence the social, economic and other forces which play their part in the evolution of human society, but it ignores one very significant element, the element of the human spirit. Culture is the result of the adjustment of the human mind to its changed environment and no interpretation of cultural history is correct which does not take into consideration this fundamental fact. Modern culture might be mechanised but this mechanisation is not the last word in modern society and the despair of the sociologist when he witnesses what he calls the debasement of culture is unwarranted. The human spirit is bound to react to the conditions that now prevail ;

and out of this interaction between personality and environment a new type of culture might be born and developed. The part that imaginative literature has been playing in the past enables us to visualise how the literature of disillusionment and despair will, in future, develop into a literature of revolt and new idealism. It is a very glaring defect in the sociological outlook in criticism that it has not been able to evaluate literature not only as an expression of popular culture but also as a catalytic agent in the evolution of newer visions and newer ideals of life.

THE LAST PHASES OF TAGORE'S SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

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THE social philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) is as old as his first creations in poetry and prose. Every art is certainly for art's sake. But there is no art—no creation,—without its message or philosophy. Didactic poetry is, indeed, a contradiction in terms. Equally so is likewise the poetry that fails to be didactic, *i.e.*, to convey a teaching. All this truism—double-edged as it is—holds for every " artist " from the earliest times until today. In the case of Tagore the claim as a teacher, moralist, propagandist or social philosopher is broad-based on the multiplicity of his works. His philosophy, social and ontological, is not only to be gleaned from the numerous songs, lyrics, plays, stories and novels. It is the direct theme of his vast creations in essays, criticisms and lectures on the most varied topics conceivable. Tagore is a professional moralist and teacher of mankind from beginning to end.[1]

Two small publications have been issued by the Vishwa-bharati Office (Calcutta, 1941). The one in English is entitled *Crisis in Civilization*, the other in Bengali is called *Shesh Lekha* (The Last Writings). *Crisis in Civilization* is the English edition of the Bengali *Sabhyatar Sankat* written by Tagore on the occasion of the eighty-first birthday celebrations (6th May, 1941). *Shesh Lekha* (The Last Writings) is a compilation of fifteen small poems by Tagore, thirteen of which were composed during the last six months of his life (17th February—30th July, 1941). A third publication may also be noted. This is *My Boyhood Days* composed by Tagore in his eightieth year and first published in December, 1940 (second edition, April, 1941). Some of the messages of Tagore in these brochures are being indicated in the present paper as the last phases of his social philosophy.

[1] B. K. Sarkar, " Tagore the Greatest Indian of History " (*Calcutta Review*, September, 1941); *Rabindra-Sahitye Bharater Vani* (India's Message in Tagore's Works, Calcutta, 1913).

During the last quarter of a century a great deal of nonsense has been propagated about Tagore's alleged indifference to Indian nationalism and nationalism or patriotism in general. He has been often taken for a mystic proficient in ultra-idealistic sentimentalizings for universal love, international brotherhood and such other stuff. No estimate of Tagore could be more thoroughly un-objective than this. In his last spiritual will and testament to India and the world, namely, *Crisis in Civilization*, delivered nearly three months before his death (7th August), Tagore has exhibited himself in as perspicuous a manner as possible in regard to interhuman and international relations. We feel that Tagore is out and out a nationalist—not only a cultural nationalist but a political nationalist as well.

As a humanist in cultural interests, Tagore is by all means an admirer of the British people and institutions. But his last word on the British administration of India is the farthest removed from this admiration. "In unfortunate India," says he, "the social fabric is being rent into shreds by unseemly outbursts of hooliganism daily growing in intensity, right under the very ægis of 'law and order.' In India, so long as no personal injury is inflicted upon any member of the ruling race, this barbarism seems to be assured of perpetuity making us ashamed to live under such an administration."

This attitude of political nationalism is nothing exceptional or out of the way to Tagore. It can be traced back to *Nationalism* (London, 1922) and *Swadeshi Samaj* (Indigenous or National Society, Calcutta, 1904). Nay, Tagore may be said to have lisped in the alphabet of Indian patriotism and political nationalism. The very first socio-political writings of his youthful years from 20 to 35, *e.g.*, *Juta Vyavastha* (Shoeing, 1880) and *Ingrej-o-Bharatvasi* (The Englishman and the Indian, 1893), etc., breathe some of the most radical nationalistic sentiments ever expressed by anybody.

In regard to the urge for political freedom as in regard to many other moral and spiritual values Tagore never became old. At eighty-one he remained as young, fresh, naïve, and primordial as at twenty. He was the embodiment of perennial youth, as I have indicated in *Yauvana-murti Rabindranath* (Tagore the Image of Youth, 1931).

About the capabilities of the Indian people Tagore is not a member of inferiority complex clubs. He is perfectly conscious that in intellectual capacity the Indians are on a par with the Japanese. And yet he cannot ignore the differences in achievement. It is

interesting that like almost every other Indian thinker he accepts the "political interpretation of culture" and this of the most thoroughly monocratic or *advaitavadi* brand. For, in his judgment "the most effective difference between these two eastern peoples is that whereas India lies at the mercy of the British, Japan has been spared the shadow of alien domination."

The pious wish is therefore expressed by him to the effect that "the wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian Empire." It is, humanly speaking, not possible for him to do anything but utter this wish and appeal to Fate. The "perils which attend on the insolence of might" are witnessed by him in no dubious manner. And in his anguish he recalls the prophecy of the ancient Indian sages, namely, "By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies but perishes at the root."

In this wish and anguish or curse is embodied the nationalism of a humanist and a sentimentalist. But it is nationalism all the same, aye, nationalism of the political dye. Tagore is certainly somebody to everybody but he is nothing if he is not freedom and freedom for India.

Tagore has in this last will and testament gone in for strong doses of "political determinism." In the case of Iran he stresses the "sense of national self-sufficiency" to which this country has been newly awakened under Riza Shah, another champion of Asia's Monroe Doctrine. He notices with relief that Iran has been "attempting to fulfil her own destiny freed from the deadly grinding stones of two European powers." The same "political interpretation of history" finds in Tagore a whole-hearted exponent in regard to Afghanistan as well. Afghanistan "can look forward to unending progress," says he, because "none of the European powers boastful of their civilization has yet succeeded in overwhelming and crushing her possibilities."

The "political determinism" of Tagore's social philosophy finds a most emphatic expression in the sentiment about India's lags and backwardnesses. His comparative politics leads to the conclusion that "while these other countries were marching ahead, India, smothered under the dead-weight of British administration, lay static in her utter helplessness."

In international affairs Tagore's ideas, of course, are not those of trained publicists or scholars in world politics, but rather of emotional

humanists. This is why he regrets that the " English had not aroused themselves sufficiently to their sense of responsibility towards China." Evidently he accepts without question the journalistic view propagated by the Anglo-American empire-holders about the sins alleged to be committed by the Japanese jingoes in the Far East. He ignores altogether the consideration that it is the long-standing Anglo-American domination in the Pacific, the Far East and China that is responsible for Japan's reactions against the Western empires in the interest of her self-preservation. For the time being it is none but Japan that can effectively embark on the expulsion of Eur-America from Asia. So far as the eternal Chinese question is concerned, Tagore may not happen to be a close student of diplomatic history and *haute finance*.[2] But his heart is in the right place. He is an exponent of nationalism and national independence for the Chinese people, as virtually every politically-minded Indian is.

Latterly Tagore fell in love with Sovlet Russia. He announces that " her civilization is free from all invidious distinction between one class and another, between one sect and another." This may perhaps be a fact to a certain extent. But one may reasonably inquire as to how many days Tagore spent in Moscow and with how many Russians of diverse classes, sects and races in town and country he spoke in order to be capable of grasping or even touching these profound social transformations. There is no doubt that " rapid and astounding progress " has been achieved by the Russian people under the Bolshevik regime. But it is not beyond doubt if Tagore would have appreciated the methodology of this progress. The progress involved in the thorough-going extirpation of private capital and private savings and the totalitarian establishment of state capitalism as well as the many other features associated with the liquidation of class enemies, the purge of undesirables and so forth were apparently not before Tagore's eyes. On the whole, it should appear that Tagore's appreciation of Bolshevik Russia is not a conscious recognition of the merits of what is technically known as communism or even socialism in economics and politics. Tagore is not to be taken as a socialist.

There is to be encountered in Tagore's position nothing but an emotional orientation to progress accomplished in a country which a

[2] See the chapters on China in B. K. Sarkar, *The Politics of Boundaries* (1938) and *The Sociology of Races, Cultures of Human Progress* (Calcutta, 1939).

few years ago was more or less akin, nay, inferior, as he believes, to India. And curiously enough, here again, Tagore's enthusiasm is whetted by the opportunity he gets for having a fling at the British administration of India. Tagore is not so much pro-communist as anti-British in his romantic eulogies on the Sovietic achievements. "When I look about my own country and see a very highly evolved and intellectual people drifting into the disorder of barbarism, I cannot help," he admits, "contrasting the two systems of governments, one based on co-operation, the other on exploitation, which have made such contrary conditions possible." Evidently, it is not simple "co-operation" that has rendered the extraordinary progress possible in Soviet Russia. There is at work here something more profoundly radical and revolutionary than Tagore visualizes. To be a genuine lover of Soviet Russia one must have faith in these radical and revolutionary measures.

We find an easy analogue in the pro-Sovietic attitudes and sentiments of the British and American empire-holders and rulers of dependencies or colonies since the outbreak of the Russo-German war in June, 1941. Anglo-American world-imperialism is at present admiring Soviet Russia not because it is in love with Bolshevism, Communism, or Stalinism but because, as announced by Anglo-American statesmen categorically, Bolshevik Russia happens to be the enemy of England's and America's enemy. This is *Realpolitik* and is in keeping with the Kautalyan doctrine of *mandala* (sphere of states and political interests). It is in this manner that *vishva-shakti* (world-forces)[3] can be utilized by a people in its own interest. While encountering Tagore's appreciations of Soviet Russia it should be proper likewise to leave open the question of his interest in or sympathy with the liquidation of private capital and private savings.

Once more is Tagore functioning as a political interpreter of culture. He is first and foremost an Indian patriot, an enthusiast and propagandist for India's freedom, and as such he bestows his encomium not only on Soviet Russia but indifferently on any and every country which has gone ahead of and can offer some inspiration to India. This is the logic of his admiration for Japan, as expressed in this brochure, as well as for Italy, Germany, England, France,

[3] B. K. Sarkar, *The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind* (London, 1912, Madras, 1930).

and indeed many other bourgeois countries, as revealed in his numerous writings.

Tagore is conventionally taken to be anti-machinist. But one of the charges framed by him against the British people is that "the mastery over the machine" has been kept by them "a sealed book" in India. It is the machine that has enabled the British, says he, to consolidate their sovereignty over their vast empire. "The admirable use to which Japan has put in her own country the fruits of the progress" has called for a notice. And he laments that access to the machine has been "denied to this helpless country," India.

Like many other philosophers and metaphysicians Tagore bases his conception of progress on the final annihilation of evil. He believes that the "cataclysm" will be succeeded by a stage of human history in which the "atmosphere is rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice." In his progress-sociology "a day will come when unvanquished Man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage." Such has been the creed of numerous thinkers in East and West since the earliest times. But, objectively speaking, it is impossible to admit that the wished-for millennium ever came in the past. Nor is there any guarantee visible in the human *psyche* and inter-human relations to enable any rational intellect to visualize the appearance of such an epoch of service and sacrifice, pure and undefiled. It is much too romantic to believe that human heritage is all good or that human destiny can be entirely unswayed by evil. This prophecy of Tagore's is never likely to be fulfilled. Man is eternally and universally a complex of good and evil, a *dharma-adharma* amalgam.[4]

Be it observed, however, that he is perpetually and painfully conscious of the shady side of life in his ontological ideas bearing on the individual. The deceptions, stratagems, unrealities and sorrows of existence have been harped upon quite frequently in his poetry, as we shall see later.

It is the custom to treat ontological problems as something outside the fields of social philosophy. This is a questionable way of

[4] B. K. Sarkar, *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* Calcutta, 1941), chapter on "The Problem of Perfection on Finality in the Theory of Progress," pp. 515-44.

looking at man and interhuman relations. The fundamental problems of existence are personal or individual. The impact of those problems on interhuman relations and social processes can by no means be ignored. The most hard-headed realist should have to agree with Hocking, who in his *Thoughts on Death and Life* (New York, 1937) observes that " to be able to give oneself whole-heartedly to the present one must be persistently aware that it is not all. One must rather be able to treat the present moment as if it were engaged in the business allotted to it by that total life which stretches infinitely beyond."

The " great unknown " (*maha ajana*) has been a constant *Leit-motif* of social philosophy in Tagore's poetry and prose. The first piece in *Shesh Lekha* (Last Writings, 1941), composed as it was on 3rd December, 1939, is profoundly ontological. It introduces us to his final desire to get a fearless acquaintance with the great unknown.

A life's *credo* is furnished in the burden, *E katha nischit mane jani* (This I know at heart to be certain), which closes each of the five stanzas in No. 2. The poet's intuition or intuitive faith has been clearly formulated. He is sure that " death cannot swallow the divine immortality of life. His conviction runs to the effect that real is the *viswa* (world) and unreal is death. But he is a pragmatist too. He is not unaware that the greatest of all untruths lay hidden in disguise in the midst of the greatest of all truths. This is a paradox of existence—tragedy, so to say, nay, a *kalanka* (shame), as he puts it. But such a shame cannot be tolerated by the law or order of the universe. The unreality of death lies exposed to the world. His metaphysics in this regard is very simple. Everything, says he, is eternally changing. Changefulness is law of the world. But death alone appears in changeless guise. It cannot, therefore, be real, true or in keeping with the dispensation of the universe. Evidently this faith of the poet is not likely to be comprehended by the logic of common-sense. All the same, it embodies a substantial ontological message and indeed serves to continue the great tradition of religio-mystical postulates developed in East and West through the ages.

Life's paradox, consisting as it does in the reality-unreality amalgam, finds an emphatic expression in the very last poem composed by Tagore, namely, the one on 30th July, 1941 (No. 15), a week before his death. Creation's path is beset, says he, with the net of diverse stratagems. The trap of false beliefs has been skilfully laid at the door of life by the contriver. The greatness of creation has thus been

stigmatized with artifices, deceits and tricks. This, however, is but one side of the shield. On the other side is the shining orb which reveals to the creator the path of the inner world. It is eternally transparent and endows his life with permanent effulgence on account of primal faith.

This dichotomy or conflicting pattern of the creator's life is well embodied in the conceit that *bahire kutil hok antare se riju* (externally crooked although, at heart it is straight). This, indeed, is his glory, and this is why his life is described as muddled (*loke tare bale viram-bita*). Truth is realized by him as washed in the rays of his inner-most being. The poet announces finally that one who has known how to stand all deceits, tricks and artifices with ease, gets access to the imperishable sway of peace. Evidently, nothing in social philosophy is more pragmatic, energizing and conducive to human interests than this the very last stanza of Tagore's poetical works.

Tagore's creative sentimentalities are not of the mollycoddle type. He is a red-blood in imagination and emotional reactions. His ontology has thereby become linked up with the positive realities of social life. "It dawned upon me," says his No. 11, "that this world is not a dream. I visualized my form in the letters of blood and *chinilam apanare aghate aghate vedanay vedanay* (came to know myself through shocks after shocks and in pains after pains). Truth is hard, and I loved the hard. The hard never deceives." The poet is a gymnast struggling with the stiff. He knows that this life is but a series of penances in sorrow. It is with sorrow that the terrible price of truth can be realized. Tagore has offered the basis of a robust moral life and a profoundly positive spirituality. This is a great message for all mankind.

In *My Boyhood Days* (1940) Tagore describes his life up to the eighteenth year. Readers would naturally look in it for the social conditions and culture of Bengal from, say, 1861 to 1880. Tagore has not disappointed them. The vignettes run on in a desultory or disjointed manner but are thoroughly realistic and exhibit the heights of artless art. He has cared to tell us that the women of the family "used to sit there with brass vessels full of *kalai* paste, and while their hair was drying they made pulse-balls with their deft, quick fingers." No picture of Bengal can be more vivid and genuine than this bit of Bengalicism. Another enjoyable tit-bit is as follows. One day the new sister-in-law "gave me shrimp curry with yesterday's

soaked rice, and a dash of chillies for flavouring, and I felt that I had nothing left to wish for." This is not only a chip of humanism but humanism itself. Tagore at 80 is a hundred per cent human being, aye, a *pucca* Bengali.

It is not, however, the socio-economic, domestic, educational and cultural institutions or movements of Bengal from 1861 to 1880 that interests us here. We are concerned with the ideas, ideals and ideologies of Tagore at eighty. The thoughts that are moving within his brain in his eightieth year lie exposed in this book because he has cut open his skull and enabled us to see inside. The autobiographical snapshots are descriptive and do possess a historical value. But a special psycho-analytical interest attaches to these recollections. The fact that certain items of that period have been recalled enables the reader to guess automatically that certain other items of the author's personal and social life have been missed, overlooked or forgotten. All the same, the recalled life-bits or souvenirs of boyhood as exhibited to the public do not fail to indicate some aspects of the social philosophy of Tagore at eighty.

It is obvious that in his eightieth year Tagore is not prone to philosophizing as a moralist or generalizing as a pedagogue over infancy, boyhood or youth. The most trivial incidents he tries to recall in the most objective manner. He calls up the very spirit of boyhood days with the realism of concrete experience. There is no allegoristic platitudinizing over the omissions or commissions of the period. He lives the details over again. It is nothing short of the *joie de vivre* that is evoked in this social philosophy. Another marked characteristic is the absence of the shadows of age. The dawn of life is greeted here through the eyes of the boy or the youth and not through the lens of the setting sun. The burden of age, experience, decline, death, coming events, the other world has left no impression in these recollections. The *milieu* of these records is the most thoroughly untouched by the sentiments of *thanatophobia*. The work of octogenerians is liable to be crossed by the suggestions about or fear of death. But the mentality of Tagore at eighty is the farthest removed from that dismal ecology. No death-preparedness could be more vitalizing and glorious.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Educational Progress in India

Altogether 1,130,062 boys and 257,027 girls reached the literacy stage during 1939-40, according to an official survey of the progress of education in British India. This marked an increase over the previous year by 12,842 boys and 18,469 girls.

The number of primary schools for boys in 1939-40 was 161,810 as compared with 159,281 in 1938-39, showing an increase of 2,529. The number of primary schools for girls, however, decreased by 541. Enrolment of boys and girls during the year under review advanced by 353,262 and 222,065, respectively.

The year also witnessed an increase of 1,527 special schools for boys and of 201 for girls. The number of boys under instruction in these schools rose by 45,429 and of girls by 5,818.

There was an increase of 287 in the number of middle schools for boys (both English and Vernacular) and of 75 in the number of such schools for girls. The enrolment of boys in these schools advanced by 51,937 to 1,176,928 and of girls by 21,598 to 226,385.

The number of high schools for boys increased from 3,129 in 1938-39 to 3,246 in 1939-40 showing an increase of 117. In the case of girls' schools the increase was 48, from 417 in the previous year to 465 in the year under review. The total number of boys reading in high schools rose by 64,228 to 1,108,509 and of girls by 16,410 to 147,379.

The total number of Arts colleges in the whole of British India, both for men and women, rose from 289 in the previous year to 304 in 1939-40. The number of men under instruction rose from 100,770 to 109,921, showing an increase of 9,151. In the case of women, scholars in Arts colleges in the previous year numbered 7,976 and in 1939-40 they were 9,615, showing an increase of 1,639.

The number of professional colleges increased by two, from 79 in 1938-39 to 81 in 1939-40. The total number of men under instruction also went up by 1,593 and of women by 92.

The total educational expenditure in 1939-40 was Rs. 29,08,76,000 as compared with Rs. 27,81,99,000 during the previous year. The share of public funds in the increased expenditure was to the extent of Rs. 79,17,000, of fees Rs. 46,35,000 and of other sources, which include private benefactions, Rs. 1,25,000.

Primary Education in Hooghly District

During 1940-41, the Hooghly District Board aided and maintained 1,082 schools, according to a statement submitted to the Government of Bengal by the Chairman of the Board. The number of pupils was 37,988 and the Board's expenditure on primary education alone was Rs. 56,300.

The Chairman observes that the Board is in favour of enforcing the Primary Education Act in the district but it is also of opinion that it should be deferred till the acute economic depression prevailing in the district was removed.

Silver Jubilee of Carmichael Medical College

The first non-official medical school under the name of " The Calcutta School of Medicine " was established in 1886 in Calcutta. Later on, the name was changed to " The Calcutta Medical School ", and in 1899, a society, with Rai Dr. Lalmadhab Mukherjea, Bahadur, as President and Dr. R. G. Kar as Secretary, was formed for the management of the school. The course of study extended over three years and the medium of instruction was Bengali. But the school had no hospital attached to it at that time and the students had to attend the Mayo Hospital for clinical instructions.

In 1897 a small hospital was started with 14 beds and the course of studies was extended to four years. After several removals the present site of the College and the Hospitals was acquired in 1898. The Albert Victor Hospital, with 36 beds, was formally opened in 1902 by Sir John Woodburn—the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

Another non-official medical institution called " The College of Physicians and Surgeons of Bengal " had been started in 1895. In July, 1904, these two institutions were amalgamated. The institution and its attached hospitals soon achieved popularity, and attracted the attention of the Government of Bengal who helped it with grants from time to time.

In 1913 the Government of India offered a capital grant of Rs. 5 lakhs, provided the authorities could raise 2 lakhs and a half from the public. The Government also promised a recurring grant of Rs. 50,000 provided the Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta University agreed to contribute annually Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 10,000 respectively. By 1916 the authorities of the College raised the two and a half lakhs of rupees stipulated by the Government, and the Government paid their promised contribution of five lakhs of rupees. The principal donors were Sir Rashbehary Ghose, Sir Taraknath Palit, Mr. P. N. Tagore, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Kumar Bishnuprasad Ray, Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu and Sir S. P. Sinha. The Debendranath Mullick Outdoor Dispensary (ground floor) was constructed at a cost of Rs. 70,000 received from Raja Debendranath Mullick. For the fitting up of the laboratories, the Calcutta University made a grant of Rs. 10,000 and the Government of Bengal contributed a sum of Rs. 5,000.

The College was formally opened as " Belgachia Medical College " by Lord Carmichael on the 5th July, 1916. It was affiliated to Final M.B. Standard of the Calcutta University in 1919. In grateful recognition of the active help rendered by Lord Carmichael, the name of the Institution was changed to " Carmichael Medical College " in 1919.

The College and the Hospitals owe their existence to the untiring efforts of men like Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Dr. M. N. Bannerjee, Lt.-Col. S. P. Sarbadhikary, Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikary, Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee (all of them since deceased), Sir Nilratan Sircar and others. To the late Dr. R. G. Kar the Institution was more than an adopted child: he made over his entire property worth Rs. 75,000 to it.

The subsequent history of the Institution is an unbroken record of growing popularity and continued expansion, which have been possible only through the unstinted support from the public, the Corporation of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal. What was in 1889 but a small school without a hospital—has, in 1941, grown, through the dynamic public spirit of a number of our large-hearted countrymen, to a big institution (of vast dimensions) offering medical training and help to thousands. Figures would tell their tale more vividly. In 1897, when the school opened a hospital, it had only 14 beds which number 532 to-day. The number of students on the roll in 1902 was 463, compared with 883 this year, and in place of 6,264 outdoor patients in 1902, the hospitals treated 80,000 cases in 1941. The institution has progressed remarkably and new departments have steadily been added to it. The laboratory and the hospital equipments have been enriched considerably.

It is a matter of great pleasure to learn that the authorities of the institution have recently celebrated the Silver Jubilee. Invitations were sent out to distinguished persons all over India to be present at the jubilee functions to participate actively in the deliberations.

The College and attached hospitals though well-equipped require more provisions. The construction of a Jubilee Hall to be used for academic and other purposes, the creation of fellowships to train up deserving medical graduates for post-graduate research work, the initiation of post-graduate teaching in medical and allied sciences, the expansion of the hospitals and the supply of better and up-to-date equipments are items that have attracted the immediate attention of the authorities. The authorities confidently expect that the generous public, the Government and the Corporation of Calcutta who have shown sympathy in the past, will not fail to come forward to the assistance of this national institution which has fully justified its existence.

Miscellany

THE COMPLEX OF INSTINCTS AND BEHAVIOURS

There is a tendency among certain psychologists to stress the rôle of instincts in human behaviour. But very often it is questionable if what pass for instincts in psychological or sociological discussions are really inborn or innate. Many of the alleged instincts are perhaps the results of experience, imitation, habit, etc., as says Bernard,[1] and should not be called instincts.

For the purposes of sociological analysis it is not always necessary to enter the instinct-experience controversy of psychology proper. Perhaps one may take instincts, desires, interests, ambitions, passions, urges, drives, etc., almost as synonymous categories in order to indicate the forces that may be regarded as belonging to the *élan vital* group. The categories are by all means varied but may be taken for non-technical psychological purposes as generally indicative of the power behind actions, responses, attitudes, interactions and so forth.

The instincts have a very limited range of objectives. The first aim is to live, and the second is to flourish. The instinct to flourish is but tantamount to the urge to expand and to conquer. Perhaps in ordinary psychology one may commence with just these two instincts, if they are not really one instinct in two phases.

According to McDougall[2] the instincts are seven,—flight, repulsion, curiosity, pugnacity, self-abasement, self-assertion, and parental instinct. Four other instincts analyzed by him are reproductive, gregarian, acquisitive and constructive. This enumeration may be taken for what it is worth. In the judgment of the present author the fundamental instincts should not appear to be more than four in case the previous two be ignored. The first, although not necessarily the foremost, is *kama* (sex). The second is the instinct of *kanchana* (gold or wealth). It is the possessional, acquisitive or proprietary instinct. The third is the instinct of *kirti* (fame, reputation). It may be called the domination, conquest or power instinct. The last but not least important instinct is that of *karma* (work, action or creation). It may be called the creational or creative instinct.

Human reactions, responses, behaviours and attitudes are determined by all the four. It is not possible to trace any and every conduct in the so-called "last analysis" to *kama*, or to *kanchana*, or to *kirti*, or to *karma*. Neither a monistic sexological interpretation, nor a monistic economic interpretation, nor a monistic dominational or political interpretation, nor a monistic creational interpretation is warrantable in culture, progress or social metabolism. Not that each one of the four instincts is invariably present and to the same extent in every conduct or reaction. But the possibility of their co-existence is to be admitted. Besides, the non-existence of one or two of these in certain behaviours is likewise quite conceivable.

1 *Instinct : A Study in Social Psychology* (New York, 1924).
2 *Introduction to Social Psychology* (London, 1908).

In the pluralistic make-up of the human personality, so far as the instincts are concerned, the following equation may be established:

Instinct-Complex

$= Kama\ (\text{sex})^x \times Kanchana\ (\text{wealth})^y$

$\times Kirti\ (\text{domination})^z \times Karma\ (\text{creativity}).^w$

In case the instincts are to be treated as the elements or atoms of the psychic *Gestalt* or configuration every personality is then to be understood, normally speaking, as a bundle or complex of four different instincts. The instinctive urges in human life are sexual to a certain extent, possessional to a certain extent, dominational to a certain extent, as well as creational to a certain extent. Life is the theatre of the play of these four master forces and, we may admit also, the corresponding master "interests" as analyzed by Ratzenhofer.

The four instincts, ambitions, urges or drives lead to four different spheres of creation. These spheres of creation constitute culture in the most generic sense. Culture as used by the present author is not to be taken, in Spengler's manner, as something superior to civilization but as identical with it. Every human creation is culture or civilization. *Kama* leads to family (and society or social organization). The results of the *kanchana* instinct are economic (as well as social) activities and institutions. The state, law, politics, society and allied forms and relations of human life are derived from the *kirti* urges. And the instinct of *karma* is responsible for the arts and crafts, sciences and philosophies, inventions, discoveries, myths, religious rites, ceremonies etc., items that generally go by the name of culture, in a somewhat restricted sense.

It is to be observed that the four fields of culture in the large sense are all social. The family, the economy, the polity as well as the culture (in the narrow sense), each is social in its very nature. The four instincts or urges are then social as a matter of course, so far at any rate as their manifestations in the world are concerned.

This conception of the social consequences of the four instincts should not, however, be made to imply that man is by instinct or nature a social, *i.e.*, sympathetic, friendly, co-operative or loving animal. Nothing of that sort is to be postulated. The interhuman reactions are not always those of fellow-feeling, attachment, concord, amity or attraction. They may as well be marked by rivalry, jealousy, envy, malice, enmity, hatred, and repulsion. Competition is not less a feature of interhuman relations than co-operation. Peace is not more normal or natural an action with man than war or organized violence. The processes that connect man with man are antipathy no less than sympathy. It would be misleading to establish any one as the dominant or the exclusive process in social relations or society-building. Indeed,

$$\text{Interhuman behaviour} = \text{Competition}^x \times \text{Co-operation}.^y$$

In von Wiese's language the interhuman relations fall by nature into two groups, *Zueinander* (towards each other) and *Auseinander* (away from each other).[1]

But no matter whether the process be love or hatred, sympathy or antipathy, *zueinander* or *auseinander*, co-operation or competition, peace or war, every interhuman activity (family, economy, polity, culture) is spiritual, in so far as each registers the conquest of matter, nature and

[1] *System der Allgemeinen Soziologie* (Munich, 1932), pp. 54-55, 151-152, 176-178, 278-280.

the world by the spirit or power of man. Culture (or civilization), *i.e*, creativity *per se* is spiritual as a matter of course. It is impossible to think of anything created by man which is unspiritual.

Man is not necessarily to be taken as a social being because of an alleged instinct that drives him to be friendly and sympathetic to others. The sociality of man is derived from his relations, associations, contacts, and reactions with other men. These reactions or contacts commence with his very birth and go on until death. It is these factual intercourses that constitute sociality and render man social. The intercourses are not automatically marks of friendliness. They may be inimical, hateful, discordant, competitive and anything but pleasant. In other words, man is social even as a hater, and enemy, and a killer of men.

No individual can then be postulated to be by nature mild, loving, friendly or by nature cruel, hateful, inimical. The collectivities also cannot be instinctively one or the other. They are by nature capable of mercy as of violence. In keeping with this view of the instinct-complex and of sociality as a plurality pattern it should be reasonable to declare Sorokin to be right in the thesis by which he tries to dissipate the myth of orderly and disorderly nations "by nature." "The difference between peoples in this respect is small," as he says.[1] Those who dream of "bloodless revolution have little chance (some 5 chances out of one hundred) to accomplish their dream." The uniformity or universality of human nature is patent in this and many other fields.

The plurality of instincts and drives as well as the plurality of social forces or causes are to be accepted in every interpretation of locality patterns, social metabolism in villages and towns, as well as rural reconstruction. These pluralities are, besides, universal in their incidence. Their validity is patent as much in East as in West. Rural reconstruction as a process of social metabolism has always to be understood in the perspective of such plural-instincted, diverse-*gestaltet* and hetero-determined men and women. The rôle of legislation; *i.e.*, of politics in rural reconstruction cannot be over-emphasized in any country or epoch, although the contributions of other instincts or urges and forces need not be overlooked.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SANITATION OF THE NEW SOCIAL PATTERN

The social responses to health requirements are mirrored forth in the municipal budgets. For public health and convenience the expenses of all the 812 municipalities in India during 1935-36 were as follows:[2]

	Items	Rupees
1.	Water-supply (including capital outlay)	15,823,063
2.	Drainage (including capital outlay)	8,708,324
3.	Conservancy	25,328,316
4.	Hospitals and Dispensaries and Vaccination ...	9,683,413
5.	Plague charges	487,380
6.	Markets and Slaughter houses	2,534,443
7.	Arboriculture, Public Gardens, etc.	1,504,743
8.	Sanitary	4,373,263
	Total ...	68,442,945

1 *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. III (New York, 1937), pp. 475-478.
2 *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1927-37* (Delhi, 1939), p. 77.

This figure (Rs. 68,442,945) in proportion to the grand total of all the items of municipal expenditure (Rs. 412,126,200) yields 16·5 as the percentage. The item, "public instruction," was responsible for Rs. 23,238,987 and thus accounted for 5·6 per cent of the total municipal outlay.

During 1937-38 the total expenditure by all the Indian municipalities on public health amounted to Rs. 44,375,667. The expenditures on water-supply, drainage and conservancy were as follows:

Items		Rupees	
1. Water-supply	...	11,565,151	
2. Drainage	...	4,929,651	
3. Conservancy	...	16,416,173	
Total	...	32,910,975	(Rs. 49,859, 703 in 1935-36)

This sum of Rs. 32,910,975 was less than the amount spent on the corresponding items in 1935-36 by nearly 17 million Rupees.

It is to be noted that the Public Health Commissioner [1] admits in his report for 1938 that "even in urban areas the state of environmental sanitation is far from satisfactory."

Neither the absolute figures nor the proportions can be visualized as encouraging in any sense. Patriotic-minded persons and social workers generally cannot but be perpetually reminded of the huge bulk of 353 million inhabitants in whose perspectives these municipal health expenditures have to be envisaged. The perpetual discontent of the teeming millions, especially of the self-conscious vocal classes, can be well imagined by the sociologists of advanced regions in Western Europe and the Americas as well as of Japan. It is such discontent that furnishes the springs of "creative disequilibrium" as the urge or drive for further progress.

Sociologists understand from the Russian scholar Roubakine's paper at the International Congress of Population (Paris, 1937), among other things, that mortality in Russia decreased from 32·1 per 1000 inhabitants in 1891 (and 30·2 in 1913) to 18 in 1928. In fifteen years after the end of the revolutionary wars, *i.e.*, by 1935 the death rate in Soviet Russia became equal to or even less than that of the *grands pays civilisés de l'Europe occidentale* (great civilized countries of Western Europe). The experience of Soviet Russia is bound to furnish a perpetual spur to the social philosophy of semi-developed countries like India in the matter of new health patterns.

The student of social and cultural dynamics may, however, recall the medieval conditions of Europe which, even in England and Germany, survived down to virtually the eighth decade of the nineteenth century.

[1] *Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for 1938* (Delhi, 1941), pp. 130-131.

Compare the situation in another semi-developed, semi-primitive country, Soviet Russia, as described by A. Roubakine (Moscow) in *Le Mouvement de la population dans l'Union des Républiques Soviétiques comparativement aux tendances démographiques des pays occidentaux* (Report of the International Congress of Population, Paris 1937, Vol. III, pp. 146-154).

As is well known, the introduction of hygienic measures is an achievement of recent years. In *Geist der Neuzeit* Tönnies[1] observes that in the Middle Ages the town was enclosed by walls, its lanes were narrow and crooked and bore the marks of their rural origin. For a long time people did not care to attend to the health of the inhabitants. The problem of health became important on account of the frequency of plague and it was gradually recognized that the smallness and cooped-up character of the houses, the absence of watering, the proximity to the cattle, especially the swine, brought evils in their train. It was not before the middle of the nineteenth century that Napoleon III set the example of city and housing reform in Paris by means of compulsory demolitions under state auspices. During 1854-71 his city improvement operations cost, be it remarked *en passant*, 2,500,009,000 francs.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

WHAT IS A SOCIO-CULTURAL LAG?

In regard to the sociology of urbanization as well as the interhuman relations embodied in the transformations described as rural reconstruction, housing reform, town planning, etc., it should be proper not to be misled by the pseudo-scientific or metaphysical generalizations about the impacts of climate, race, etc. The problems as well as the solutions are in almost every instance universal or world-wide in incidence and effectiveness.

Discussing the "common basis" of life and culture in Turkey, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria-Lebanon and Palestine in *Staat und Wirtschaft im Orient*[2] Hüber observes: "The modern national economy of these regions, especially, the industrialization, is a phenomenon of the last few years or decades. It is from the top that this phenomenon must be made popular as for instance in the days of Frederick William I or Frederick the Great in Prussia. The Orient lies, therefore, in the unpleasant situation that the development of the new economy made its commencement after Europe had a century of technical progress behind her."

The socio-cultural lag or distance of a century as envisaged by Hüber is not acceptable in a rigidly scientific analysis of the equations of comparative industrialism as exhibited by the present writer in other contexts.[3] But the statement gives a correct picture of the processes or action patterns involved in modernization, which are identical for East and West. The "common basis" of the Near East is at the same time the common basis of all mankind as regards acculturation to new industry and technique.

[1] Leipzig, 1935, p. 97.

See also B. K. Sarkar: *The Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936) pp. 75 78; H. Bechtel: "*Städtebau*" in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (Jena, 1926), Vol. VII, p. 838; F. Tönnies: *Die Entwicklung der Sozialen Frage* (Berlin, 1913).

[2] Article in *Geopolitik* (Heidelberg), July, 1938, p. 582. See also his *Deutschland und der Wirtschaftsaufbau des Vorderen Orients* (Berlin, 1938).

[3] B. K. Sarkar: *Aspetti e Problemi della moderna economia indiana* (*Annali di Economia*, Milan, 1930), *Die Entwicklung und weltwirtschaftliche Bedeutung des modernen Indien* (*Indien*, Stuttgart, 1931), "*La Sociographie hindoue aux débuts du capitalisme moderne*" (*Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Paris, November-December 1936). For culture-lag in general see W. F. Ogburn; *Social Change* (New York, 1922).

Be this as it may, objective sociology as the science of interhuman processes and organizations as well as social forms and relations has need to take note of the social differentiation brought about by organized health activities between diverse groups of human personalities.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

MECHANIZATION AND TECHNOCRATIZATION

The social distinction between the municipalized and other areas is patent in another field. This is the domain of technique and engineering. Four items may be singled out in which municipalization implies automatically some doses of regional reconstruction and societal transformation through mechanical changes. These are lighting arrangements, water supply methods, drainage systems, and roads. Technical novelties, although not often of a high order of complexity, are slowly but steadily enabled to make inroads into the socio economic and domestic patterns of the persons subject to municipal administration. As a source of modernism in social life the rôle of municipalization is obvious. The municipalities are some of the channels through which the new industries and modern arts and crafts are normally, although in homoeopathic doses, penetrating the rural complex. Mechanization and technocratization are integral features in the economy of municipalization.

The processes can be seen in large dimensions in the achievements of Soviet Russia. The municipal services of the Gosplan I. (1928-32) comprised, in addition to the provision of dwelling houses, the construction of new towns and improvements in the localities inhabited by working men. The workers' quarters in the towns located in the outskirts of mammoth cities were specially attended to. Among the municipal enterprises and installations are to be mentioned (1) roads and railway lines for local transit, (2) the planting of trees, (3) sewage system, (4) water works, and (5) trolley and autobus service. The expenses of the Plan period amounted to 1,848,000,000 Roubles.[1]

The items of municipal service in Soviet Russia for the two years 1928 and 1932 are indicated below:[2]

Item	1928		1932	
1. Water supply	293	towns	367	towns
2. Sewage	36	,,	55	,,
3. Tramway	39	,,	50	,,
4. Bus	41	,,	117	,,

The increase in the number of towns enjoying the four kinds of service indicates the high rate of expansion consummated by the first five year plan.

Those in India who are interested in mechanization and technocratization as well as in social reform, social service or social work may be

[1] The currency and price system of Soviet Russia can hardly be rendered intelligible by the simple conversion into other monies. The currency, money, prices, etc., are "managed," controlled, regulated, manipulated or "planned" by the state in a totalitarian manner. The idea of the "standard" as prevalent in classical economics is not valid in regard to the Soviet economy.

[2] *Summary of the Fulfilment of the First Five Year Plan* (Moscow, 1933), pp. 202-203.

justified in raising the cry for more municipalization as an aid to the remaking of traditions, and generally speaking, to rural reconstruction. The expansion of municipal life so as ultimately to cover, at any rate, the total urban population, if not the entire population of India is likely to remain for long the goal and ambition of Indian statesmen, patriots and political leaders. The example of Soviet Russia cannot fail to be more and more catching in view of the fact that down to 1918 old Russia was but a cousin to India in socio-cultural pattern.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF FINANCES

Objectively speaking, psycho-social personality of the 6·4 per cent. *i.e.*, of some 23 million men and women in India cannot be taken as entirely identical with that of the rest (330 millions). The distinction between the two personalities is obviously profound. The social metabolism as pervading the two orders of interhuman relations is not uniform. The differentiations injected into the *psyche* by municipalization have to be carefully observed while of course not ignoring the fundamental and basic features that belong to human nature as such and render the municipalized and pre-municipal mentality kin.

The political discipline of the municipal pattern introduces new features in the social attitudes and behaviours of the men and women municipalized. The content of municipal life comprises among other things the democratic realization and organization of collective income under the following heads:

A. Rates and Taxes: 1. Octori (internal levy), 2. Taxes (*a*) houses and lands, (*b*) animals and vehicles, (*c*) professions and trades, 3. Tolls on roads and ferries, 4. Rates: (*a*) water, (*b*) lighting, (*c*) conservancy, 5. Other Taxes.

B. Realization under Special Acts: 1. Pounds, 2. Hackney Carriages, 3. Licenses for the sale of drugs and spirits.

C. Economic Enterprises (Municipalization, Public ownership?): 1. Rents of lands, houses, etc., 2. Sale proceeds of lands and produce of lands, 3. Conservancy receipts (other than rates), 4. Markets and slaughterhouses.

D. Fees for Services rendered: 1. Educational Institutions, 2. Other Fees.

E. Miscellaneous: 1. Fines, 2. Grants and Contributions, 3. Miscellaneous.

F. From Public Revenues: 1. Government Grants, 2. Grants from Local Funds.

G. Debts and other Transactions: 1. Sale proceeds of securities, 2. Loans from Government, 3. Loans from Private Individuals, 4. Realizations of Sinking Funds, 5. Advances, 6. Deposits.

The transformation of the pre-municipal tradition and folkways that is engendered by the habitual discharge of collective duties in regard to these levies of all sorts is one of the most significant social data in

municipal areas. Corresponding to the attitudes *vis-à-vis* the sources of income there are the attitudes *vis-à-vis* the items of expenditure. The content of municipalization comprises the following scheme of collective disbursements per year:[1]

A. General Administration and Collection Charges.

B. Public Safety: 1. Lighting, 2. Police, 3. Fire.

C. Public Health and Convenience: 1. Water supply (including capital outlay), 2. Drainage (including capital outlay), 3. Conservancy, 4. Hospitals, Dispensaries and Vaccination, 5. Plague Charges, 6. Markets and Slaughterhouses, 7. Arboriculture, Public Gardens, etc., 8. Sanitary.

D. Public Works: 1. Roads, 2. Buildings, 3. Establishment, 4. Stores, 5. Miscellaneous.

E. Public Instruction.

F. Contributions for General Purposes.

G. Miscellaneous, 1. Interest on Loans, 2. Other Miscellaneous.

H. Debt Services: 1. Investments, 2. Payments to Sinking Funds, 3. Repayment of Loans, 4. Advances, 5. Deposits

The sociography of municipalized areas actively affects only 13180 members throughout India (1935-36). The condition cannot be taken as anything but primitive. And yet it marks an improvement upon the situation as at 1917-18. The establishment of new traditions among an increasingly larger number of individuals is in any case to be regarded as a consequence and as a mark of the social metabolism engendered by municipalization. Political self-consciousness, administrative creativity, socio-legal leadership, democratic public life and so forth are to be counted among these new traditions with which municipalization enriches the people.

All these observations about the political *Gestalt* of municipalized men and women are to be understood in a general manner. Not all municipalities are of the same numerical importance. As human agglomerations the difference in the number of heads between one municipality and another may be very considerable. Similarly, the economic and financial strength of the different municipalities is not identical. These and other considerations about the municipal complexes are to be remembered while analyzing their impacts on the personalities from the political or technical viewpoints.

The other side of the new traditions must not be ignored, however. The vices of modern democratic institutions have to be counted. The corruptions associated with electioneering tactics and party managements belong to these new traditions. The immoral practices that grow up around the administration of public funds are not to be ignored. The abuse of powers enjoyed by the administrative heads and party leaders is a common occurrence of the new *milieu*. New forms of despotocracy and oligarchy play their part in the transformation of pre-municipal areas into municipalized complexes. Against such abuses and tyrannies moralists and social reformers are at liberty to raise their voice. Works like Ross's *Sin and Society* (Boston, 1907) and *Changing America* (New York,

[1] *St. Abst. British India, 1927-1937* (Delhi, 1939), pp. 78-83.

1915) may be consulted for the sinister aspects of processes in socialization.[1]

It is nothing extraordinary, as public opinion in the form of gossip makes it notorious, to be able to pocket sums to the tune of a hundred thousand Rupees per year from official or non-official contacts with big municipal and allied institutions. American experts in the squeeze-deal-corruption complex have hardly anything to teach the municipal democrats and other bourgeois like the honorary magistrates, general managers, etc. of India.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

[1] See also R. M. and H. M. Lynd : *Middletown in Transition* (New York, 1937), and A. N. Holcome : *The New Party Politics* (New York, 1933).

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Unseen Power.—By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Jag Parvesh Chander. Published by the Free India Publications, The Mall, Lahore. Pp. 104.

The book under review contains the utterances of Mahatma Gandhi regarding the existence of God, the meaning of prayer and of idol worship. Mahatma Gandhi does not here seek to offer us what may be called theological or philosophical essays, of which there is no dearth in literature. The special significance of the writings lies in the fact that they embody ideas and ideals which have sprung spontaneously from a truly religious soul. There is a force in a simple statement of personal belief, which is more persuasive than the rhetoric of official preachers or the logic of learned theologians.

The first part of the book, which deals with the existence of God, shows that Mahatma Gandhi never pretends to be a prophet or a messenger of God. He does not like to be compared with Christ, for such a comparison may hurt the feelings of Christians. He says, "I lay claim to nothing exclusively divine in me. I do not claim prophetship. I am but an humble seeker after truth and bent upon finding it." About belief in God he says, "It can never be a matter for argument. If you would have me convince others by argument, I am floored. But I can tell you this that I am surer of His existence than of the fact that you or I are sitting in this room."

The second part, which deals with the meaning of prayer, should be a revelation to anyone who reads it. Prayer, to Mahatma Gandhi, is not mere begging, a form of importunity. "Our prayer is a heart search. It is a reminder to ourselves that we are helpless without His support. No effort is complete without prayer and without a definite recognition that the best human endeavour is of no effect if it has not God's blessing behind it. It is a call to self-purification, to inward search."

The third and last part, in which Mahatma Gandhi expresses his ideas on idol worship, will remove many misconceptions which have given rise to so much controversy and strife. To Mahatma Gandhi, idol worship has a great imaginative value and is permissible so long as it does not degenerate into superstition. "Idol worship," he says, "is a part of human nature. We hanker after symbolism." And a little later he says, "Every Hindu child knows that the stone in the famous temple in Benares is not Kashi Vishwanath. But he believes that the Lord of the universe does not reside specially in that stone. This play of the imagination is permissible and healthy." But Mahatma Gandhi is, nonetheless, an iconoclast. Says he, "I break down the subtle form of idolatry in the shape of fanaticism that refuses to see any virtue in any other form of worshipping the Deity save one's own."

The perusal of the book should bring about a great change in our religious and moral attitude.

H. C. Mookerjee

Yoga for All.—By Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj. Published by the Hindu Missionary Society, Krishnanagore, Lahore. Pp. 157. Price Re. 1/8.

Though it is not a commentary in the usual sense of the term, the author claims that the contents of this small but striking volume are based entirely on the *Bhagavad Gita*. He has tried—and with success—to give expression to the spirit of the *Gita*, and in order to make it more clear has followed its main headings in the different chapters. The aim of the writer who is deeply saturated with the genuine spirit of Hinduism is to convey to the layman his conception of the problems of life as solved by the teachings of the *Gita*.

In these days of materialism which has penetrated all social and religious groups, it is refreshing to come across this new and vigorous interpretation of what is probably the most appealing of all the Hindu scriptures and to infer from its wide popularity the presence of that hunger and thirst after right living, of which we find so little evidence in what we see around us to-day.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Continence and Its Creative Power.—By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Published from Sri Ramkrishna Math, Karachi (Sind). Pp. 44. Price Four Annas.

An outline of this booklet first appeared in the form of an article in the *Vedanta Kesari* of Madras in July, 1941, which was subsequently reproduced in *The Daily Gazette* of Karachi on July 6, 1941. It was at the request of several young men of Bengal and Sind, who were highly impressed by the article, that it was developed and published in its present form. In it the learned author, who is an enlightened *sannyasin*, tries to show that the root-cause of our present degeneration is the violation of the law of continence, which should be the most sacred law of both our individual and collective life and without which there cannot be real happiness and progress in either. This view of the author has the support of many eminent authorities and religious and social reformers. M. Paul Bureau, in his interesting work *Towards Moral Bankruptcy*, maintains that there is no enduring happiness and no solid welfare that is not founded on continence in the unmarried and chastity in the married. Within the brief compass of a booklet the revered Swami has discussed many of the important questions connected with the ideal of *Brahmacharya* or continence in human life from the standpoints of physiology, psychology and sociology, and with reference to the testimony of medical authorities and the Hindu scriptures. He has also given certain useful practical suggestions for attaining the ideal of perfect continence and made a fervent appeal to Young India to rebuild a vigorous national life on the basis of a firm faith in the creative power of continence.

If we enquire into the causes of our present degeneration we would no doubt come upon many complicated conditions. But a searching analysis of these will reveal that the primary cause, in relation to which all others are secondary, is the neglect of the duty of continence that should be a categorical imperative for the young generation. But unfortunately, the most imperative duty is the most neglected one in these days in our country. The book under review will prove to be of great

help to the young reader to guard against the evil of incontinence and thereby attain real happiness in his or her life. The more widely this book is read by the student community, the better for our country. A book on *Brahmacharya* in Bengali on the lines of this booklet will be most welcome and beneficial to the younger generation of Bengal. We confidently hope that the present edition of the book will meet with a warm and wide response and prepare the way for an enlarged edition of it as contemplated by the venerable Swami.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

Radhanatha-Jivani.—By Durgacharan Rai, B.A., Sadar Sub-divisional Officer, Patna State. Published by the Utkal Sahitya Press, Cuttack. 1941. Pp. 1207. Rupees Seven only.

In the modern Indian languages, a literary biography is still a rarity, though, with the progress of critical apparatus in the language, the form should have been more properly assimilated. The environment and the subject-matter of the work, the unfoldment of the latent capacity of the man of letters, his influence on his own and succeeding generations—all these have to be shown and estimated, and on the proper evaluation and representation of the individual and social forces, the merit or success of such a book depends a good deal.

Mr. D. C. Rai, the writer of this stupendous volume of more than 1200 pages, has established his claim to the gratitude of all interested in the literature by his courage in tackling such a work. He has been a faithful labourer in the cause, and his attempt has been liberally supported by the munificence of the Feudatory Chief of Athmallik State. More than forty illustrations set off the volume.

The biography has been divided into sixteen chapters. The first covers the period of the poet's days of childhood; the second carries the story on to the period just before his marriage, his acquaintance with Phakir-mohan and his apprenticeship; in the third we are led to his marriage and his appointment as a Joint Inspector of Schools for Orissa. In course of Chapters IV to VI we are told about the poet's progress from the composition of *Kedāra-gauri* to that of the *Mahāyātrā*, his partaking in the literary fight between the *Indradhanu* and the *Bijulī*, his appointment as the First Inspector of Schools for Orissa, and his closer acquaintance with some of the Feudatory Chiefs of Orissa. The next three chapters contain the last phase of a successful life: the poet receiving Government recognition by the conferment of the title of Rai Bahadur; his work in Bengal as Divisional Inspector of Schools for Burdwan; his part in the organising of public opinion in Orissa for a United Orissa Movement, planning for an Utkal Sammilani, attending the first annual meeting of the Utkal Sahitya Samaj, repentance for defection from the path of virtue, retirement from service and final exit after a spell of illness. Chapters X to XVI describe the public grief felt over the poet's demise, his remarkable poetic qualities, brief criticism of his principal works, his love of nature, inauguration of a new kind of verse, moral qualities, the anniversary of his death and his reminiscences by friends and admirers.

It is evident that the scope of the book is all-embracing, and the author has aimed at collecting and presenting all materials available about Radhanath. This has its utility for the historian no doubt, but, for the general reader a careful pruning would have been advisable. A literary

biography, like the one which the book attempts to be, should offer no place for depositing the heap of second-hand matter which the author has so laboriously collected together. Reproduction of articles or memorial verses *in extenso* should have been avoided, and a mere reference to them would have been enough. The editing should have been more strict and careful and the episode of self-vilification in a penitent spirit eschewed altogether. The saintliness of Radhanath and the moral grandeur of the penitence would not have suffered in the least if the reference (though, may-be, after the most approved pattern in Western literature) to the "educated" woman "responsible" for the poet's fall had been more veiled in this book, or omitted in the reproduction of Radhanath's circular letters, specially when she had died before he published them. In this sense one may feel a little doubtful if the poet was justified in referring to her in the way he did in those historical epistles of penitence.

For all that, the work brings forward much new matter and the publication of letters including those of Bhudev Mookerji and Chandranath Basu adds to its value. It deserves careful perusal by all students of Oriya literature, inasmuch as it presents a large-size portrait of the age of Radhanath.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Bharater Deb-Deul.—By Jyotishchandra Ghosh. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1941. Price Rs. 3.

A taste for books dealing with the cultural heritage of India in painting, sculpture and architecture, has still to be created among the common run of readers in Bengal, and we do believe that the present work written in such a pleasant and entertaining style will help not a little to bring about the desired change in popular taste. The author has spared no pains to incorporate the information set out in authoritative works on the subject, but matters archaeological and historical have not been allowed to obtrude too unpleasantly in the manner of a technical monograph. It is satisfying to note that due importance has been attached by the writer to the views of Indian specialists—artists and art-critics, historians and archaeologists. Most of the famous Indian fanes, both cave and structural, have been covered in the present volume, and the selection, we must add, is fairly representative, although we miss mention of the Sun Temple of Mudhera in Guzerat, the temples of Belapur (Belur) in the Hassan District of Mysore State, the cave temples of Badami, and a few others of equal note. The Vijaynagar remains have also an interest of their own. The author, however, has done wisely in not presenting too bulky a tome to the public, for it is best to impart such unpopular knowledge well-sugared, and in small doses. Additions, if called for, may well be made in following editions. Considering its scope and the line of treatment, the work, as it is, is neither inadequate nor inaccurate. We are thankful to Mr. Ghosh for his full and careful treatment of Mathurapur Deul and Kantanagar temple, and are inclined to wish that Ichhai Ghosh's Deul, Jatar Deul and the Baranagar temples of Rani Bhavani had also been included. The thanks of the reading public and especially of the more discriminating readers should be due to the University authorities for placing such a good book, with as many as 40 illustrations besides the text, within their reach at such a modest price.

GURUDAS SARKAR

Ourselves

[I. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru appointed Kamala Lecturer.—II. Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Benares Hindu University.—III. Renomination of Sir U. N. Brahmachari as Fellow of the University.—IV. Senate's Representative on Bengal Council of Medical Registration.—V. Late Babu Ramgopal Ghose's Portrait.—VI. Endowment of a Medal.—VII. Committee for Administration of a New Endowment.—VIII. Mokshada Sundari Gold Medal, 1940.—IX. University Representative on the Indian Historical Records Commission.—X. Report on the D. P. H. Examination, Part I, November, 1941.—XI. Report on Teachers' Training Certificate Examination (Geography), November, 1941.—XII. Reports on the First, Second, Third and Final M.B. Examinations, November, 1941.—XIII. A New Ph.D.—XIV. A New D.Sc.—XV. The Late Sir Akbar Hydari.]

I. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru appointed Kamala Lecturer

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, has been appointed the Kamala Lecturer for the year 1933, the subject of his lectures being "The Discovery of India."

* * *

II. Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Benares Hindu University

The Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Benares Hindu University was held in Benares in January, 1942. The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee were appointed representatives of this University to attend the function.

The Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee received on this occasion the degree of LL.D. *Honoris Causa* from the Benares Hindu University.

* * *

III. Renomination of Sir U. N. Brahmachari as Fellow of the University

His Excellency the Chancellor is pleased to re-nominate Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal) to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University. His last term of office as Ordinary Fellow of the University expired on the 8th December, 1941.

* * *

IV. Senate's Representative on Bengal Council of Medical Registration

Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Eng.), has been returned unopposed as a representative of

the Senate of our University to the Bengal Council of Medical Registration. As the sitting member in the same capacity his term of office expired on 3rd December, 1941.

* * *

V. Late Babu Ramgopal Ghose's Portrait

Our University has accepted the offer of a portrait of the late Babu Ramgopal Ghose to be hung up in a prominent place in one of its halls from his grandson Mr. Charuchandra Mitra.

* * *

VI. Endowment of a Medal

The University has accepted with thanks the offer of Rs. 600 from Mr. A. C. Gupta for the annual award of a Silver Medal to the Hindu girl who stands highest among the successful Hindu female candidates at its Matriculation examination. The medal will be called " Bhabatarini Medal " according to the donor's wishes.

* * *

VII. Committee for Administration of a New Endowment

The following Committe has been appointed to frame rules for the management of the fund consisting of Rs. 31,000 invested in 3½% G.P. Notes which has come to the University under the Will of the late Mr. Ramgopal Ghose:—

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor.
The Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.
The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Banerjee.
Dr. B. C. Roy.
Satischandra Ghosh, Esq., M.A.

* * *

VIII. Mokshada Sundari Gold Medal, 1940

The above Medal will be awarded to Miss Kamala Devi, M.A., who successfully competed for it by an essay on Romes Chunder Dutt.

IX. University Representative on the Indian Historical Records Commission

Dr. Narendrakrishna Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., has been nominated by our University to serve on the Research and Publication Committee of the reconstituted Indian Historical Records Commission.

* * *

X. Report on the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, November, 1941

Twenty-seven candidates appeared at the examination, of whom only one failed. The percentage of passes is 96·3.

* * *

XI. Report on Teachers' Training Certificate Examination (Geography), November, 1941

Five candidates were registered for the examination, of whom one was absent and three were successful. The percentage of passes is 75. The percentage of passes in April, 1941, was 97·5.

* * *

XII. Reports on the First, Second, Third and Final M.B. Examinations, November, 1941

Of the 150 candidates registered for the First M.B. Examination 84 failed and 2 were absent. The percentage of passes is 43·24.

Of the 76 candidates registered for the Second M.B. Examination 55 passed and 21 failed. The percentage of passes is 72·36.

Of the 129 candidates registered for the Third M.B. Examination 89 passed and 40 failed. The percentage of passes is 68·9.

Of the 207 candidates registered for the Final M.B. Examination 68 passed, 134 failed and 5 were absent. The percentage of passes is 33·66.

* * *

XIII. A New Ph.D.

Miss Surama Mitra, M.A., whose thesis entitled "Good, Evil and Beyond in Indian Philosophy" has been approved for Doctorate by a Board of Examiners consisting of Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt., Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A. and

Prof. R. D. Ranade, M.A. and Miss Mitra has been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

We congratulate Dr. Mitra on her success.

* * *

XIV. A New D.Sc.

Mr. Mohinimohan Ghose, M.Sc., who submitted a thesis entitled "The Operational Method and the Dynamics of the Finite Struck String and the Hammer," has been admitted to the degree of D.Sc. His work was examined and approved by a Board consisting of Professors R. B. Lindsay, Philip M. Morse and F. R. Watson.

We extend our hearty congratulations to Dr. Ghose.

* * *

XV. The Late Sir Akbar Hydari

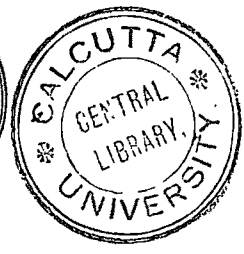
Sir Akbar Hydari, who will be chiefly remembered as the creator of modern Hyderabad which he served as Finance Member of the Nizam's Executive Council and later as President of that Council, died at New Delhi after a short illness on 8th January, 1942.

Shortly before his death he visited two important centres of education—the University of Calcutta and the Viswabharati at Santiniketan, showing his lively interest in educational matters.

Sir Akbar accepted the Viceroy's invitation last year to join the Governor-General's expanded Executive Council. He was Member in charge of the Department of Information and Broadcasting.

A devout Muslim, Sir Akbar was broadminded and tolerant in his views. He was responsible for the steps taken by the Nizam's Government for the preservation of the frescoes of Ajanta. He was a discerning admirer of Indian Painting and Architecture and gave his support and encouragement whenever necessary for the promotion of cultural and artistic interests. One of his most memorable achievements was the establishment of the Osmania University in Hyderabad where he made Urdu the medium of instruction for students.

He took part in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. He was made a Privy Councillor and in 1937, he was admitted to the Honorary Doctorate of Civil Law by the University of Oxford.



THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
FEBRUARY, 1942

INDIA AND NEW INDIA

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, KT., M.A., D.LITT., D.C.L., LL.D.

IF one turns to India of the past and today one would be surprised at the wealth of literature and its diversity of views upon what India came to be and what it is and the moment we descend from the high altitude of the past to the future, we are overwhelmed with opinions and views which, though materially contradictory, all combine to keep India as she is today—a glittering jewel in the British Crown and the only one to heighten an insular kingdom into a world-famous Empire.

India as such has existed for nearly three thousand years. The Empire of Asoka was larger and in part co-extensive with the India of today, but what travails has not that India suffered, what persecutions has it not endured and what exactions is it not at the present moment suffering from !

Of all the countries in the world no country has suffered so much or profited so little from the yoke of a foreign conqueror, and no other country in the world can say that it has been less phlegmatic or immobile to foreign impacts than the land of Gautama Buddha, the radiation of whose light has illumined the darkest recesses of the globe but left India still dark and dismal. A few plain facts explain its past and provide for its future but these facts have to be learnt

by heart by every student of Indian history and they have to be guarded against by every Indian patriot. These facts admit of no excuse and no apology, but whether they do or do not admit of any other explanation, the true and only explanation is to be found in some of the institutions peculiar to India, which mould its life and which are singular to it and are to be found nowhere else upon this earth. What are these institutions?

First, the castes, about 3,500 in India, to which have been added linguistic, provincial and sub-religious jealousies.

Second, religion.

Third, illiteracy and ignorance.

Fourth, racial divergence.

Fifth, individual outlook.

Sixth, the distant goal still imperceptible and unapproachable.

Seventh, the *vis inertiæ* of a people not accustomed to hard sustained effort due to.

Eighth, the tropical climate, which is by far and away the most potent devitalizing and debilitating influence in the life of the people.

Ninth, the enormous size of the country, usually described in area as large as the whole of Europe without Russia, and in population as much including Russia. The question is whether this mass conglomeration of human beings can be marshalled into a single nation in the near future, and if not, how best to carve them out into distinct independent entities living their own lives in friendly association with the rest.

It will be seen that out of the nine salient heads, all except the first are due to various causes ; but the first more than all the rest is more fissiparous and destructive of some degree of solidarity that science and education have achieved in other countries by narrowing the gulf that distance and ignorance had created and which beget diffidence, distrust and a feeling of aloofness inimical to the development of universal brotherhood.

The first disquieting feature of Indian history is its age-long tradition of illiteracy and ignorance, not due to lack of opportunities of funds, but illiteracy and ignorance that has become a part of one's religion in the country. It arises from a firm belief in the magic of words, their potency and power over cosmic force. This is typified by the use of proper words and their correct enunciation without which the words in this connection called *mantras* have no

effect, indeed even the contrary effect of that intended. Consequently, no common man can master them since they require close study and rapt attention to their intonation which raises them above the common secular reading of books, of which there were none in existence, and in this respect the literature of India differs from that of Greece in that it was purely spiritual and as such soon became the perquisite of a special hierarchy who made its study their life-work. These soon became known as the Brahmins, and they drew a line beyond which their scriptures would not go, the result being that its literacy became confined to the Brahmins. The Kshatriyas disputed their monopoly, and one of them, Gautama Buddha, crushed both Brahmins and their holy writ by proclaiming their selfish cunning. He counselled mass education and composed his edicts in the popular tongue and so made them accessible to the common people. From 600 B.C. to 747 A.D. till the death of King Harsha, India was, generally speaking, free of caste illiteracy and ignorance and it is a golden page in its history.

But on the death of King Harsha reaction set in and Brahminism reappeared in a shining apparel of Brahma-*cum*-Buddhism which it assimilated by proclaiming Buddha as the ninth incarnation of Brahma.

But this seeming reconciliation of the two creeds was a mere disguise assumed for the purpose of masking the true objective of the resurgent priestcraft who succeeded in their feint and effectively and effectually banished Buddhism from the land of its birth.

Illiteracy and ignorance once more followed the rule of caste till the advent of Islam which began to draw chunks from Hinduism with the result that, of the 80 millions today, the bulk are Hindus converted to the faith that both preaches and practises the brotherhood of the Faithful. But Islam, like Hinduism, believes in the power of the word and the youths are consequently made to memorize the text of the Koran without understanding a word of it. Islam is then no enemy of illiteracy and ignorance which continued down to the advent of the British rule, when the Christian missionaries began to teach the masses the principles of their own holy writ. But neither Hindus nor Mussulmans, not even the British, realized the necessity of mass education which, however, received a fillip with the Reforms Act of 1919 which enfranchised 9 millions of the population, now raised to 20 millions, who could only be approached through the medium of the post and the press. It has opened the people's

eyes to the value of education which has grown as the *literati* not only find places in the Legislatures but are drawn upon for the public services, while their necessity in the growing trade and commerce of the country is increasingly recognized.

But a mass movement for mass education has not yet begun for lack of funds, but the little that has been done since the Act of 1919 is a good augury for the future growth of education which will take a real turn as soon as India has a responsible Executive.

The education of India, like that of the rest of the world, has been in the first instance limited to the education of the male population: the womenfolk have been, in all countries and up to a recent date at all times, kept or remained illiterate and ignorant, consigned to the kitchen and the nursery which they were not permitted to leave, for which various reasons were assigned. Their relegation to the seraglio in the East was said to be for their own protection, so was their early disposal in marriage. This old custom has continued down to the present time, but now that the fruits of education are beginning to be appreciated, and men's minds are being freed from the bondage of religion and tradition, there is a noticeable advance in female education, though early marriages still hamper it, but there is a growing recognition that no nation can consider itself as civilized if its better half is ignorant and illiterate, unable to take part in the ordinary affairs of civic life, or be a companion to the husband or his helpmate in business, or what the two Great Wars have demanded, pull their own weight in the struggle for life. The education of women will result in the general rise of the standard of life and it must be treated not merely as a question of social reform but one of elevation of the national life.

Educated Indians have very little to say in favour of the caste beyond justifying it as a timely necessity and serving the purpose of a trade union when the labour movement did not exist. But whatever might have been its utility or necessity in the past, its baneful influence in dividing the nation by fomenting inter-caste jealousy and isolation, its conservatism and opposition to manifest progress as by mechanization and better control of labour, its petty exclusiveness and the growing deterioration of its members in face of modern methods of business, all tend to denounce it as out of date and a serious impediment to national solidarity.

The old conservative spirit of the people has found vocal expression in the Sanatanist movement which opposes all social reform in the name of the old religion. That there is no lurking patriotism in this cult will be evident to anyone who has come into close touch with this band of diehards. I was able to pass Act XXX of 1923 legalizing inter-caste marriages, but a more direct attack upon this ancient relic is required to unify what remains of Hinduism after it has been denuded of 80 millions of Mussulmans and 5 millions of Christians, not to mention several millions of other dissenters united in the various sects still within its fold, *e.g.*, Jainism, Sikhism, Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and the rest.

We have got used to speaking of India as a single country and of its people as a united nation. But in plain truth India as a whole is as much a nation as is, say, the continent of Europe which is better knitted together on account of the unity of its religion, customs and the general mode of life than India which, in spite of its geographical and political unity, still remains sharply divided by race, language and provincial traditions. Of these the separatism of language will rise above the growing cohesion brought about by the country-wide revolt against foreign rule. It has for the time being submerged all innate differences which are sure to arise as soon as the political emergency is passed. It seems to me that India will, in the main, be fused into four nations on the basis of their linguistic affinity, namely, the Hindustanis, the Bengalees, the Dravidians and the Marathas, and the re-carving of India into linguistic provinces and sub-provinces will allay internecine jealousies and remove one source of latent unhappiness.

Taking the 7th and 8th questions next, it is a fact that climatic debility below 50 degrees of latitude has a marked effect upon physical development, but in India a timely counter-measure to people the hills and the highlands might do much to alleviate the deteriorating effect of climate. In the past the water and transport difficulties stood in the way of such a development, but modern science has greatly overcome both and the mountainous regions of India should provide apt nurseries for a strong, healthy and virile population, necessary both for its defence and for its industrial development: while political freedom, long overdue, will not only unravel the tangle of these and other problems but release the mind to expand and direct the reconstruction of self and the country in an atmosphere freed from the policy

reflected in the average life of 23 years and an income of no more than £4 per annum, making India a byword for short life and poverty.

Its *vis inertiæ* owes its origin to climatic causes, so does the pessimism of its philosophy and religion. That cause disappearing, there will be an easier approach to the numerous problems that are given the go-by because of the latent lethargy induced by causes remediable but still unremedied.

The remaining questions are by comparison derivative or secondary, and they are engaging some attention though not adequate to their intensity and volume. But it is not the purpose of this article to indicate more than by a finger-post the various topics that have escaped but need prompt and immediate attention in the building of a new India without which India will remain as peopling 400 millions of those who are said to be content to live as the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.

THE STUDY OF ECONOMICS IN INDIA *

DR. J. P. NIYOGI, M.A., PH.D.
Head of the Department of Economics, Calcutta University

I USE no language of mere convention when I say that I am deeply grateful to the members of the Indian Economic Association for the honour they have done me in electing me to the Chair. It is an honour which I greatly value, coming as it does from friends and fellow workers all over India. Following the precedent established last year we are holding a simultaneous session with the Indian Political Science Association presided over by my distinguished friend Dr. Siva Ram. I take the opportunity of offering on your behalf our codial greetings to the members of that body.

This time the Conference meets in the picturesque Capital of the Western Presidency, where the blue waters of the Ocean receive from the rocky isles around and from the vast subcontinent of which these isles constitute the main gateway, the rich treasures which the patient industry of our people prepares in abundance for the remotest corners of the globe. The city of Bombay cannot claim the antiquity of the metropolis of the Mahisha-Vishaya where the conference last held its deliberations. But the area in the Konkan which saw its birth became famous for its arts and commerce, cave temples, rocky fortresses and emporia of trade, already in the days of Hindu rule as evidenced by existing monuments and records of Greek and Arab mariners of olden times. The beautiful isles which nestle the modern city attracted the attention of Malik-ul-Tujar and sovereigns of Gujrat in the fifteenth century after Christ, and Franciscans endowed them with several beneficent institutions in the next. In the sixties of the seventeenth century a happy marriage that united a British King with a Portuguese princess led to the cession of the most important island to that remote country in the Atlantic with which its fortunes are now indissolubly linked. Since that date the progress of the city that rose on this isle

* Presidential Address by Dr. J. P. Niyogi, M.A., Ph D., University Professor of Economics, Calcutta, at the Twenty-fifth Session (Silver Jubilee Session) of the Indian Economic Conference held at Bombay on 31st December, 1941.

has been rapid. It became the metropolis of a great Presidency, the queen of Western India, the centre of its business and enterprise, trade and commerce. Here in 1885 and in the years that followed met many assemblies whose voice pealed like a trumpet note from one corner of the country to another. It was in this city, at a meeting held in the Senate Hall of the University, that the constitution of our Association was first drawn up and adopted, and it is in the fitness of things that once again we should assemble in this city in response to an invitation from the University of Bombay to celebrate our Silver Jubilee. Our Association, it may be recalled, was ushered into existence at a time of storm and stress when the world was passing through the agony of a frightful war whose devastating effect on the well-being of nations it took years to mitigate to any appreciable extent. By a curious irony of fate its Silver Jubilee which falls in the present year witnesses a fiercer conflict that spells ruin to all the ameliorative efforts of a quarter of a century. It is our mournful duty on the occasion of our Jubilee to pay our tribute of respect to the memory of some of the pioneers whose far-sighted vision was responsible for the inauguration of the Association—Lalubhai Samaldas; Gilbert Slater and Percy Anstey. Happily there are others who are still with us. May they long continue to guide our deliberations!

While speaking of the historic city whose hospitality we enjoy today, we cannot fail to recall the achievements of one of its most illustrious citizens who adorned its highest court of justice for more than seven years, the centenary of whose birth synchronises with the Jubilee celebrations of our own Conference. An erudite scholar, a far-seeing educationist, an ardent social worker, a keen advocate of religious reform, a prominent leader of political thought, the *guru* of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, whom an admiring countryman, himself one of the foremost leaders of the day, extolled as the diamond of India and the jewel of Maharashtra—Mahadev Govind Ranade has left the impress of his powerful personality on the political, religious, social and intellectual life of this ancient land. We are specially reminded this day of the eminent services that he rendered to economic studies and for the material progress and the general uplift of our country. The publication of his Essay on Indian Political Economy was indeed a landmark in the history of the development of Indian economic thought. Many are the citizens of this great city who have moulded the destinies of India alike in commerce and other

fields of human activity. Among them Ranade will always occupy a conspicuous place.

In the past you had eminent economists as your President who addressed you on diverse problems of our economic life. But I would crave your indulgence on this occasion for deviating from this practice. For I would like, if I may, to utilise this opportunity of placing before you a few reflections on the study of Economics in our Universities today. Thanks to the devoted endeavours of the pioneers—Ranade and Naoroji, Dutt and Gokhale—India was initiated into the study of economic problems. But the systematic study of Economics began in the first decade of the present century when the Universities gave it its rightful place in the scheme of higher studies. Since then a knowledge of the principles and problems of Economics has filtered down to a large section of the educated middle class. The science has gained a new status. Thirty years ago it formed a minor part of the course in History. But during the last few years it has acquired an importance peculiarly its own. In many Universities today it is one of the most popular subjects in the Faculty of Arts. It makes a strong appeal to students whose interest in current economic problems has been aroused by the far-reaching changes that have taken place in the economic structure of the country. Nor have world problems failed to leave a deep impress on our young men who, bewildered by the swift march of events, seek in the study of Economics the key to the understanding of some of the problems that baffle them. Although Economics has not yet attained the objective, scientific character of natural sciences, yet its clear and logical analysis and its growing body of principles have given it a strong claim to scientific standing and to popular confidence. The value of Economics as an instrument of intellectual discipline is no longer in dispute. A heavy responsibility, therefore, rests on those who frame the course of studies and organise teaching and research in different Universities for ensuring that their endeavours bear fruitful results.

The time has, therefore, come when economists in India should take stock of the progress attained so far and formulate a plan of studies suited to the needs of the times. For I yield to none in my conviction that Indian scholars must take a prominent part in the solution of the diverse problems with which the country is faced from time to time. On Indian scholars must increasingly devolve the task of equipping themselves with the relevant knowledge and technique

necessary for pronouncing judgment on rival schemes or policies formulated by the adminisitration. In the transitional stage through which the country is passing a cloistered academic life can hardly be regarded as a suitable ideal. Without participating in the rough and tumble of party politics, a trained economist should be able to "test news and opinions by a mental touchstone of disciplined discernment." As early as 1885 Marshall, in his inaugural address at Cambridge, made the remark that Economics was more a mode of thinking than a body of doctrines. A well-balanced course in Economics should develop amongst the University alumni a critical outlook, ability to greater facts, sift them and draw necessary conclusions.

If this be the accepted goal of our academic activity, are we satisfied that the prevailing courses of study are best calculated to attain the goal ? I have no desire to dogmatise on the subject. But I am sure that many of you will agree with me when I say that the history of the development of Economic Studies in Indian Universities is a record of a three-cornered fight between different, and to some extent, antagonistic views. There is first of all the traditional idea of imparting useful information which should form part of the liberal education of a citizen taking an intelligent interest in public affairs. Closely allied to this there is the vocational idea of giving instruction in subjects which are likely to contribute to success in the careers that young students may adopt. Lurking surreptitiously behind the whole curriculum, but, at the same time, dominating it, there is present what I may call the prize-winning idea of enabling students to capture the rare prizes of enlistment in some of the All-India Public Services.

I regard the last tendency as one of the most injurious influences dominating academic minds. I am not unmindful of the fact that some of our ablest students sit for these competitive examinations. In these circumstances University Boards and Faculties not unnaturally show a partiality to curricula which enable their students to capture the limited openings available. With that end in view an attempt is made to find a place in the course for a little of everything. Economics and Political Science, Political Organisation and Administration, Public Economics and Public Finance, Economic and Political History—these are allotted a place in the hope that a knowledge of something of everything may be of some use to some of our students in the competitive scramble for the highly-paid posts. We thus witness the unedifying spectacle of framing our courses of study for

other than strictly academic ends. The situation in India is thus exactly the reverse of that obtaining in Great Britain. There it is the Civil Service Commissioners who adjust their courses for the different examinations to keep them in line with changing University studies. It is of interest to note that in 1937 the Civil Service Commissioners revised their schedule of examinations for posts in the Administrative class of the Home and the Indian Civil Service. This revision in the light of the development that had taken place in University studies was an acknowledgment of the position that the Commissioners have to conform to the requirements imposed by Academic Boards and Faculties.

It also seems to me that we have hitherto laid too great a stress on the process of storing information and attached far too little importance to the training of the mind. While it is true that an Indian University should concern itself with economic problems in their historical and environmental perspective, it is necessary to realise that the course in Economics should not end in a mere study of Indian economic organisation and economic history. A study of descriptive and historical material at the Post-Graduate or M.A. stage has hardly the same value as an instrument of intellectual discipline as a course dealing with complex and recondite problems of economic analysis. Students require difficult subject-matter to exercise their faculties and it would, it seems to me, be good for Indian Universities to include in their Post-Graduate courses of study a far larger proportion than that existing today of subjects that require sustained intellectual effort. I would like therefore to plead for a discriminating emphasis on the need for an intensive study of analytical economics at the Post-Graduate stage. Theory and descriptive matter should be regarded as factors to be mixed in due "proportions" in the scientific study of Economics, and an undue emphasis on one branch of study to the neglect of the other is likely to lead to paralysis in thought or diminishing returns. It should be the object of a well-planned University course to study the wide sweep of generality and the stage of generalisation is the stage of shedding details in favour of the active application of principles, the details retreating into subconscious habits. Too much emphasis on details leads to mental inertia induced by the weight of aimless accumulation of knowledge, inert and useless. Only a few years ago Lord Stamp, whose death in tragic circumstances we all mourn, emphasised the need for the same degree of disciplined thinking

in Economics as in Physics or Chemistry and deprecated the process of storing information. He said,[1] "A mind like a ragbag may contain an amount of knowledge useful in many spheres of human activity, particularly if the rags are of good quality, but this kind of mind is no good in Economics, where there must be an organic connection between different facts and principles." When Winston Churchill had just come home from the Boer War he visited one of his young relatives at Eton and gave him this useful piece of advice, "Don't turn your mind," he said, "into a —ed ammunition waggon. Turn it into a rifle to fire off other peoples' ammunition." It is not the storing process that is valuable in the study of Economics but the training of the mind. For knowledge shrinks as wisdom grows. The details of economic facts and data can be picked up *ad hoc* in each avocation of life, "but the habit of active utilisation of well understood principles is the final possession of wisdom."[2]

It might indeed seem strange to you that at a time when the study and formulation of economic principles and their basic foundations are the subject matter of severe criticism, I should be advocating the claims of a more systematic study of principles in our Universities. Critics have been telling us that Economics is fast developing into an unintelligent thicket of complex variables and mathematical symbols, and that its exponents live in a make-believe world of unreal and abstract theory. It is urged that the science is trying to develop a whole system of abracadabra which has no meaning except to the initiated, and that it has no use for the plain man and still more the plain politician looking to the economist for help in solving concrete problems.

It is not for me to take upon myself the defence of the great masters of Economic Science who have devoted themselves to the task of acting as path-breakers in this branch of study. They are quite able to look after themselves and their intellectual pursuits. But to us in India the supreme need for a more intensive study of the analytical branch of Economics arises from the eminently practical reason that it will lie with the Indian economists to an increasing extent in the future to influence the policy and the programme of their governments. "The importance even in practice of the theoretical side of science," says Professor Whitehead, "arises from the fact that action

[1] Stamp—Ideals of a Student, p. 17.
[2] Whitehead—The Aims of Education and other Essays, p. 58.

must be immediate and take place under circumstances which are exceedingly complicated. If we wait for the necessities of action before we commence to arrange our ideas, in peace we shall have lost our trade and in war we shall have lost the battle." I venture to think that an acquaintance with the recent developments in economic analysis will be useful even for the limited purpose of influencing policy. Tools must be forged before we proceed to make practical use of them. Scientific discovery whether in the field of social or natural science owes its impetus to curiosity and it is just possible that the curiosity which leads a scientific enquirer to explore the realms of the unknown might yield results of great value even though such conclusions seem *prima facie* useless and trivial. It is only necessary to recall what Professor Pigou said in 1926, "With Mill's claim to finality for his theory of value before us as a warning," he remarked, "few economists would venture to assert that the furniture of the tool shop is as yet complete or nearly complete." [1] Let me illustrate my meaning by an example. The literature that has been growing for some years past on the nature of investment, Income, Saving and Hoarding cannot be regarded as useless quibbling in futile abstractions or mere polishing of dialectical darts. For these concepts have a direct bearing on practical policy. It has very rightly been pointed out by Indian economists that even if the pace of industrialisation were quickened the utmost that India could expect was to raise the proportion of factory workers from a little over 1 p.c. of the working population to 2 p.c. But acceptance of this proposition should not lead one to argue that the value to the Indian economy as a whole of increased industrialisation is to be judged only by this relatively small increase in the number of factory workers. Considerable attention has been given in recent years to the problem of the secondary effect of investment, to the secondary increase in employment due to an increase in investment. It has been established that the activity generated by an initial investment is not an expanding but a convergent series. Owing to leakage into hoards and cash balances the initial movement does not go on expanding until it reaches a crisis, but it settles down on a higher plane of Employment and Income. The discussion that centres round the multiplier concept developed by Kahn and Keynes can hardly be ignored by the Indian economists without laying themselves

[1] The Aneurin Memorial Lecture, 1926.

open to the charge of being out of touch with realities. One of the most important tasks of the Indian economists, specially of those with the necessary equipment in statistics, will be to estimate the value of the multiplier in the light of the relevant data available, such as the volume of savings of different groups and the proportion which imported goods bear to the total consumption at different stages of business activity. Several statistical methods have been applied with a view to determining the value of the multiplier for different countries These have yielded important results, affording, among other things, an insight into the relation between home investment and the loss of home income through expenditure on foreign goods. Kahn calculates that in England 20 p.c. of the income is spent on foreign goods, Dr. Mitnitsky gives for Hungary a proportion of 10 p.c. while a figure of 24 p.c. is given for Australia by Colin Clark.[1]

Far be it from me to suggest that the multiplier concept has found unanimous support. Economists are not wanting who deny the sovereignty of investment as the sole determinant of economic activity. Economic impulses originating elsewhere than in the purchase of capital goods may be as important as investment in determining the level of output. In particular it may so happen that the level of investment itself is determined by the " Relation " which depends on the rate of change of the level of output of consumption goods. Changes initiated by a cotton or wheat boom, for instance, may be the dominant economic impulse determining economic activity and investment. Any decline in the rate of consumption may be the critical point at which the demand for capital goods falls. When the rate of increase of consumption goods begins to fall what is required in net investment is not merely a slowing down in its rate of increase but a decrease. I mention the Multiplier and the Relation only to bring out that these tools cannot any longer be ignored in any consideration of practical policy in India such as industrialisation, increased agricultural production, or changes in the distribution of income and saving brought about by taxation, or inauguration of a programme of public works in India during the post-war period to mitigate the consequences of a decline in the consumption of war goods. The contention that these concepts are useless for the solution of our everyday practical problems is as fantastic as it is futile.

[1] Review of Economic Studies, October, 1938, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 1-21.

Other instances of a change in outlook brought about by recent analytical studies will occur readily to you. The concept of full employment, for instance, that dominates much of the discussion on problems of trade cycle has its repercussion on a question of policy which vitally affects India. It is now admitted by most economists that the perennial controversy between free trade and protection has been largely due to the fact that disputants have not met on the same issue. The argument for free trade has been based on the assumption that the resources of the country are fully employed. On that assumption free traders argue that complete freedom of trade is most advantageous and will lead to the most efficient method of production. The protectionist thesis, however, is based on a different assumption. In a community in which there are unemployed resources protection may, in certain conceivable circumstances, increase the quantum of employment. Thus the parties to the controversy have been making unwittingly different assumptions and each maintaining something which is correct on the assumption on which it is based. What is correct policy in the case of equilibrium at full employment may turn out to be a mistaken policy in an equilibrium position of underemployment. At full-employment equilibrium one is concerned with the allocation of the factors in the production of consumption goods and of investment goods which stand in competitive relations to each other. But if the society is at equilibrium at a point of underemployment investment and consumption are not competitive but complementary.[1] That being so the policy of protection may acquire a new significance.

I need not labour the point further. I have said enough to suggest that the time has now come when we should bring our Economics courses in more intimate contact with those profound springs of economic thought which have welled up in such rich measure outside India within the last two decades. Indian scholars should shoulder the responsibility of making economic studies wider and richer in content with every passing year. I do not wish to suggest that we have made no progress in this direction. Any suggestion of that kind would be utterly contrary to facts. Writing in January, 1920, the late Principal Percy Anstey made the following observations before the Indian Economic Conference regarding economic studies in India..... .... "No student," he said, "so far as theory is concerned,

[1] Hansen, Full Recovery or Stagnation, p. 17.

ever advances beyond the commonest rudiments. To him the works of Marshall—except for the little volume called the 'Economics of Industry'—of Pigou, of Irving Fisher, of Clark, of Veblen, of Edgeworth, of Bohm-Bawerk and of all other genuinely original thinkers in the realm of modern economic science who have given us deep and subtle analyses of the complex problems of our time remain sealed books." We have made considerable headway since these lines were written. But what seems to be called for is a definite and conscious recognition of the vital importance of analytical studies in advanced Economics courses.

While thus emphasising the importance of analytical and qualitative thinking as an aid to practical policy, one is apt to neglect the importance of quantitative data and their interpretation in a scheme of higher University education in Economics. It is now becoming increasingly clear to teachers of Economics in India that if the more advanced students are to be properly directed to make contributions to the study of living problems it is essential that they should have some training in statistical technique, a knowledge of which could be usefully employed in the analysis of published statistical material. As raw materials accumulate detailed results must be co-ordinated with the help of recognised apparatus. The importance of realistic study in Economics is now widely recognised, as quantitative data have to be examined by sample investigation or by comprehensive methods of observation. In delivering the Sidney Ball Lecture of 1926-27 at Oxford the late Lord (then Sir Josiah) Stamp deplored the lack of knowledge in young economists of elementary statistical methods. In his opinion it was imperative that every University student of Economics should be required to take a course in elementary statistical methods including correlation without necessarily obtaining a mastery of mathematical principles. He urged the need of including in the Oxford curriculum some training in published statistical data and in technique. The absence of such a study in any University economics curriculum might lead one to think that the University in question had no desire to take part in advancing economic science and was content with merely giving a liberal education in past history or modes of thought. "If however," said Lord Stamp, "we desire to teach a living subject, and to make economists with practical touch, and not mere historians of economic thought—if, indeed, we are to be really fair to the vast mental energies whose direction is entrusted to us, it

will be necessary to give some thought to the new era of economic effort ahead of us." It is hardly necessary to add that these observations apply with equal force to the Economics courses offered by most Indian Universities. A knowledge of the first principles of quantitative research is essential to a scientific study of Economics. In the study of analytical Economics the mathematical method is being increasingly applied. But a knowledge of mathematical methods of calculation is no substitute for training in quantitative thinking, for mathematical treatment may be quite misleading if it is not based on a thorough examination of the quantitative nature of the concepts introduced.[1]

We have often heard the complaint that there is a great paucity of statistical material in India, and that economists, politicians and administrators are often handicapped in their work due to such paucity. There is certainly a good deal of force in this contention. For we have as yet no definite information as to the income of the ryot, his family budget and cost of living. In the field of industry the deficiency of material is even greater. There is no reliable survey of cottage industries or medium-size industries for the country as a whole. We have not as yet undertaken a census of production. The index of cost of living is prepared only for a few urban areas. The burden of taxation on different income groups has yet to be estimated. All these imperfections constitute no doubt a serious blot on an administration charged with moulding the economic life of millions of submerged human beings. Quantitative analysis in these various fields must necessarily wait upon the gathering of relevant data.

But it is well worth noticing that there are other fields in which there is a lack, not so much of material, as of analysts with the knowledge of the required statistical technique. To a young academic economist, who complained that where he lived and taught material for research was inadequate, the late Professor Allyn Young remarked that a set of census reports contained enough material to occupy the rest of his life. In India one has to look around to be convinced that there is a large mass of accumulating statistical publications which are in the main the by-products of different administrative and economic activities of Central and Provincial governments and local bodies. A rich harvest of useful knowledge awaits the toiler

[1] Cassel—On Quantitative Thinking in Economics (1935), p. 2

who will address himself patiently to the task of analysing this material as yet unexplored.

The Indian Universities must worthily play their part if indeed they are to help in the education and training of those who are entrusted to their care. India's period of apprenticeship in economic studies should be taken to have been over. Economists should be prepared to take stock of the result achieved so far and in the light of their investigations modify their course with a view to giving statistical studies their due place in the curriculum, particularly in what is known as the Post-Graduate or M.A. course. Addressing the Royal Economic Society in 1907, Marshall said, "Qualitative analysis has done the greater part of its work in economic science, and that the higher and more difficult task of quantitative analysis must wait upon the slow growth of thorough realistic studies." I am not quite sure that Marshall, had he been alive today, would have adhered to his former view regarding the finality of qualitative work. But there is hardly any doubt that he would have been a pronounced and staunch advocate of statistical studies in view of the increase of statistical data and the improvement of statistical technique that have taken place since his time. Armed with this elementary knowledge of statistics it would be open to many of our young Post-Graduate students to explore unmapped territory, and to fill in many gaps in our knowledge and ordering of facts. In the words of Professor Pigou, though for great steps forward the wide sweep of an intellectual giant is needed, for realistic studies there is not only a place but a a very real need for the average worker. [1]

But analytical and statistical studies can only be fruitful and yield maximum results, if contact is established between academic economists who combine mastery of the technical tools of theoretical analysis and industrialists, bankers and financiers having knowledge of practical affairs. Too often these two classes of workers move in different worlds, and there is an absence of that co-operation, discussion and friendly contact which is essential in the larger interest of the community as a whole. It is necessary to point out that much of the valuable work in Economics has been done by scholars who have felt attracted by the more realistic approach to the subject and have sought a solution to some specific problem. It was possible for

[1] Pigou's Presidential Address, Royal Economic Society, May, 1939.

Marshall as early as the seventies of the last century to obtain an insight into industrial problems by visiting representative works in some of the major industries in Great Britain. The result of his investigation was embodied in 1919 in that monumental treatise *Industry and Trade*. The establishment of the School of Business Administration as a part of the London School of Economics by businessman who provided the necessary financial support, and of the Oxford School of Business Research by Lord Nuffield are striking instances of the realisation of the idea of such co-operation between business and academic Economics.

Indeed it may be asserted with confidence that this contact is likely to prove advantageous both to academic economists and to businessmen. The charge of unreality that is sometimes directed against the teaching that is imparted in our colleges and Universities would vanish if the academic economist is in a position to "set up an exchange and mart of economic ideas in the city, in business houses and factories" [1] and at the same time bring a little of the realistic atmosphere of the factory, the farm and the counting house into the lecture room. It is interesting to recall in this connection that the late Sir William Ashley prescribed for junior University teachers at Birmingham "a little, definitely limited amount of teaching, plenty of time for research, meetings with all interesting and important folk who came to Birmingham, a summer vacation among the industries of Western Germany....." [2] It would equally prove advantageous to businessmen to be brought into contact with academic economists who are likely to take a detached view on matters of current controversy. For it is essential to social progress that somewhere in society there should be a small group of men protected and supported by public opinion and inspired by high professional ideals to study dispassionately from the point of view of national interest economic issues which affect the businessman's pocket. The academic economist should be regarded as the special custodian of that particular point of view in economic matters which is entitled not to undisputed dominance, but to a full hearing even in troubled times when the needs of the hour seem so paramount to the businessman, the legislator, and the policy maker. [3]

1 Tyerman Economists To-day, *Lloyds Bank Magazine*, June, 1939.
2 Economic Journal, December, 1927, p. 683.
3 Viner, Presidential Address, American Economic Review, March, 1940.

In the absence of such co-operation harnessed to the cause of national welfare conflicts are likely to develop, particularly when the views of the academic economists are against the pecuniary and business interest of the class of merchants and manufacturers who may be dominant for the time being. The history of the relationship between the professional economists and businessmen in countries such as the U. K. and the U. S. A. will furnish instances of this clash which has occurred from time to time. The teachings of the economists found high favour with the business interests in Great Britain during the first half of the 19th century. The doctrine of *laissez faire*, which then summed up the economic wisdom of the classical economists in the domain of economic legislation, suited very well the dominant business class of the time, the merchants and the manufacturers. When, however, late in the century, on humanitarian grounds, the academic economists advocated state interference in economic activity, their popularity declined as the businessman's profits had a tendency to fall because of such interference. In America too this conflict between the two classes of workers manifested itself in the third quarter of the 19th century in regard to some of the economic issues of the land. The academic economists were known to have advocated governmental regulati n of rail-road rates, of public utility industries and the establishment of labour organisations. It was not surprising that the spokesmen of business should, therefore, disparage the academic economists, while professing high regard for the science of Economics as they conceived it to be. When in 1930 a feeling of extreme protectionism swept over the U. S. A. and the Hawley Smoot Tariff Law was passed in the Legislature, a large number of academic economists felt called upon to issue a manifesto against this measure which had caused a shock even in that classic land of Protectionism. Some of the members of the Legislature connected with business declared that they were not overawed or disturbed by this proclamation of College Professors who never earned a dollar by the sweat of their brow, by honest labour—theorists, dreamers.

India should profit from the experience of these countries. Distrust and antagonism are out of place in a sphere of activity in which both businessmen and academic economists have their own contributions to make in furtherance of common welfare. I, therefore, take this opportunity of making an earnest appeal for the establishment of

a definite contact between the professional economists and the world of trade, industry and commerce which may serve as a basis for future co-operation and understanding. Speaking as I do in Bombay whose citizens have acted as pioneers in diverse spheres of economic activity, I realise I could not have selected a more suitable place for this appeal. Facilities to the teachers and scholars for the first-hand study of specific economic problems, supply of data not always available in official publications, opportunities for discussion of problems of national policy, particularly of measures on which Indian public opinion is divided—these are some of the desiderata for realistic investigation on dispassionate lines. It is here that the businessman can lend a helping hand to the economist. As Professor Vakil pointed out in his Presidential address at Patna, "There is a natural process of action and reaction between the strictly academic workers and the non-academic workers in the matter of investigation and research in economic problems which results in a constant criticism of one another's point of view ultimately resulting in the establishment of truth." There stand the mighty problems of reconstruction to the solution of which we must direct our efforts. We have before us the stupendous task of giving to the tiller of the soil the access to his inheritance of which he has hitherto been deprived. Industry and Commerce too require for their conservation and ordered expansion in these days a social policy. Gone are the days when an undertaking could be judged solely in terms of the balance sheet and profit and loss. There is a growing importance with an economic policy which can suggest no better way of making profit than the destruction of standing crops in the field or the restriction of production and the imposition of quantitative restriction on foreign trade. The leaders of industry and commerce must make their own contribution to the solution of the larger social problems, for their ripe experience, sober judgment and cautious temparament give them a right to be heard.[1] A project of constructive work on these various lines cannot be undertaken by any one set of workers however able and well-intentioned.

It requires for its fulfilment the active association of the academician with the businessman and the inauguration of what is known as Institutional research. The task of conducting research on economic problems has been so long left in India, mainly the Universities which,

[1] Nicholson—Education and Modern Needs, p. 157.

with the limited resources at their disposal, have worthily played their part. The publications of the Economics and Commerce Departments and the development of various lines of investigation in different academic centres in India bear eloquent testimony to what the Universities have done in this line. But let us not forget that useful and constructive work is done in Europe and America by research departments maintained by trade associations, large individual firms, trade union groups and a number of philanthropic foundations. The Agricultural Economics Research Institute at Oxford, the Fabian Research Bureau, the Institute of International Affairs are only a few among numerous other institutions in Great Britain where team work is being done by a band of workers. The year 1938 saw the inauguration of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, liberally supported by grants from the Sir Halley Stewart Trust, the Trustees of the late Viscount Leverhulme, the Pilgrim Trust and the Rockefeller Foundation. A statement issued by the Organising Committee called attention to the inadequacy of the facilities for research in Social Sciences compared to those available in the sphere of natural science and of the great increase in the number of students of Economics in different British Universities and the consequential difficulties of giving to University teachers both adequate leisure and reasonable facilities for research. The problems of the overcrowded class room and inadequate facilities are admittedly more acute in India than elsewhere. The time has, therefore, come when Indian public opinion should be mobilised in support of a policy of promoting group research in institutions where the world of business is brought into direct contact with professional economists.

Each of the major provinces in British India should take upon itself the task of establishing a Provincial Institute of Economic Research. It should be a fact-finding Institute which should take up for investigation under expert guidance aided by a team of whole-time workers questions of national and provincial importance. Such an Institute should be free from official control and be in a position to issue reports as free from bias—political or economic—as are the reports of scientific bodies. Too often in governmental circles in this country there is a tendency to adopt what has aptly been described as the "hired man" conception of the duties of the academic economist. When the views of the professional economist are in accord with those of the powers that be, they are trotted out as dispassionate, scientific

and detached. When, however, support is wanting from Indian economists for any governmental policy, official apologists lose no time in disparaging such views as being swayed by pre-conceived political bias. Any suspicion of control by government or any vested interest over the Institute would militate against its proper functioning, for it is calculated to raise doubts regarding the intellectual integrity of the data collected. The Institute should be liberally endowed and receive aid from public funds and be under the control of a governing body composed of businessmen, academic economists and important elements in the public life of the country. I can visualise such a body issuing reports and monographs as authoritative and impersonal as are the documents issued from Chatham House. In recent years Provincial Governments have felt called upon to appoint a number of *ad hoc* Committees for reporting upon different aspects of economic life. Industrial and banking legislation, rural debt and money lending, marketing of products of cottage industries, unemployment, fixing minimum prices for jute, sugarcane, paddy and rice—these and a host of other problems have come up for review by a number of Committees. I mean no disparagement to the members of those bodies when I say that they would have found the services of these Provincial Institutes helpful.

The task of setting up an independent body along lines which I have ventured to indicate is beset with difficulties. I will require ceaseless and persistent efforts combined with sincerity of purpose. But it is a task well worth attempting, for the path of wisdom in these anxious days is to examine all problems in a wider perspective than that available to any one group of workers acting singly.

Whatever may be the form of government in this country in the near future, public control of trade, industry and finance is likely to increase. It seems certain that through their taxing and spending policy governments all the world over will regulate the allocation of an increasing proportion of the community's resources. For we live in an age in which the basic institutions of the capitalistic society, which seemed solid and enduring, are being steadily and relentlessly modified because of public control. A dispassionate study of the forces at work is the sincerest form of the recognition of the important truth that economic events are largely influenced by arguments and intellectual ideas. The need for a broad vision and clear outlook was never so imperative as at the present moment.

LAW—THE HONOURED PROFESSION

RASH RANJAN BASU, M.A., B.L.

IN a tone not a whit less sincere than that of the Augustan poet have I very often muttered to myself, "Eternal blessing crown my lawyer friends!" When I think that the days of Barter and Exchange are gone and those of Actionable claims, Prescriptive rights and Insurance laws have succeeded, I wonder, Oh mortals!—reader, excepting thee and thine of course, for, believe me, I have the greatest regard for thy attainments—what would have happened to you were there no law and her minions! Could you dream of keeping yourself afloat on this billowy life unruffled even for the space of a trice without the life-belt of law? Is man the same being when Homer sang of legendary exploits or Plato dreamt of Utopia, or Caesar uttered in self-praise, "Veni, Vidi, Vici"? Ah—no! Like the fleet-footed Arcadian Maid or John Gilpin of immortal memory, he runs a race not to win the bubble of a fame or to celebrate an age-old wedding. He is no longer simplicity diluted with foolery. His occupations, his dress, his toilet, his friends and his diversions leave him no spare time. He is in an eddying whirlpool of business engagements, social functions and political meetings. He lives in this age of Gold which, shorn of its periphrasis, is the Golden Age—the cherished dream of the past. He stalks along the highway with law as his personal attendant.

Law! Thou Austere Goddess! Before thee Bezonians, Trojans and St. Nicholas' Clerks quail and flee swiftlier than the Calydonian Boar chased by the shafts of Meleager and his associate gods. Oh thou Sacred Deity!—how imposing thou lookest in thy sacerdotal chair, the veritable Siege Perilous made by the famous Merlin for the seat of Snow-White Purity. How, with a free and bountiful hand, thou dispensest security to Mr. Everyman and Mrs. Everywoman. Oh thou of Mighty Heart and Unconquerable Mind!—how, permeated with thy holy spirit and burning zeal, thy knights of law—may their tribe increase!—travel all over thy extensive domains, armed with legal precedents, surpassing in sharpness the Arthurian Excalibur of the Middle Ages to render succour to whomsoever it concerneth. How

often have I repaired to thy temple to see thy votaries paying tribute to thee, Oh, how different ! No incense or myrrh burns at thy altar. Books each a hundred-weight bound in Morrocco contain thy sacred hymns. Poor me ! My head reels in confusion when I find thy zealous priests quoting chapters and passages with a bewildering swiftness to win thy grace. Oh thou living Goddess, thy voice is uttered not in ambiguous oracles. If perchance thou art sullen, Oh ! what a hubbub then arises. I wish that both the caustic Dean and the patronising Temple were present to enjoy once again the animation that fired them in the Boyle-Bentley controversy.

Reader, allow me to tell thee that a lawyer is the imitation of Virtue's very self, *i.e.*, an imitation virtue. If thou hast not known him, thou art to be pitied. If any trouble worries thee, hasten thyself to his chamber. It is thy sanctuary. Thou art safe from all dangers. It is a blessed spot " where every stranger finds a ready chair." Thou art his delight, thy affairs his study, thy Victory his glory. He lives wholly and solely for thee. The moment thou approachest him, he forgets his ailing child, the demands of his petulant wife or his invitation to a marriage feast. He is ever ready to fight for thy cause, be it just or unjust. He is to thee as thy sworn brother. In jousts and tournaments—intellectual, of course—he forges his weapons of offence and defence out of his own brain like the spider his cobweb. If thou hast enough and to spare, select thy lawyer. Don't hesitate, decide quickly and act with promptitude. Seek him and thou shalt find him. Ah, see the miracle. Thy property is safe. Thy honour regains its pristine lustre. He would be to thee as Ariel to Miranda. No storm — no shipwreck—no misfortune. Thou wouldst be sailing in a halcyon calm. He wants nothing from thee save the contents of thy purse—a trash, for has not that Stratford poet said that the stealer of thy purse is the stealer of trash ?—Ergo, for trash thou gettest the service of a black cherub—for what else does he look like but a black cherub with his dark flowing gown ? A lawyer in thy service—thou needst not fear even a Jason to rob thee of Golden Fleece, for who knows better than a lawyer the art of fleecing thee of gold !

Reader, one word by way of admonition. If thou art a fortune's steward or a success in life, appease thy lawyer with all thy might, for he is the alpha and omega of thy security. I may almost say that he is the Tenth Worthy and surpasses in brilliance his nine other predecessors. If ever thy presence fills him not with raptures—may

that day never befall thee !—thou art undone. Give all thou hast to win his smile. Overturn thy purse on his table and in a tremulous voice and with bent knees cry his mercy, lest he might let thee down. If that satisfies him not, run to the nearest Notary Public and borrow from him, on the security of thy very life, any sum that would please thy lawyer. Rest assured, even if thy creditor be a Jew, thou art not to pay him, for thy lawyer knows the feats of that Paduan Daniel. Is it not an egregious folly to say that "a wrong case abides no handling" ? Thou mayst be a Richard Porson in classical scholarship, or a Burke in imaginative insight, or a Richelieu in political shrewdness—for all of which thy attainments—allow me to repeat once again—I have the profoundest regard and before which I bow myself down with a true Christian humility—but thou wouldst find that "thy wit is as thick as Teweksbury mustard and thy conceit no better than is in a mallet." Dost thou know that the subtlest find is no better than a mewling and puking babe before a lawyer's subtlety. Trust in him —I mean, thy lawyer—he is thy best benefactor. Make him the keeper of thy conscience. Trust not in thy friends, for—has not a poet sung—"Gold is the canker of noble minds" ? They are sure to bring thee to the verge of bankruptcy. Trust not in banks, for they fail and let you down with a crash. Invest it not in business lest thou be hoaxed into a South Sea Bubble. What wouldst thou do ?—Ask thyself if thy heart turns instinctively to thy lawyer like the magnetic needle towards the north. If it does, thou art sound ; if not, there is something wrong in thee.

Reader, if thou hast ever been to a court-room, thou must have noticed a small square-sized, moveable wooden platform with sylvan bars reaching up to thy waist—what the lawyers call a witness-box. It is such a simple device that it must have failed to excite thy curiosity. But take it from me, it is a wonder—Law's greatest mechanical creation. No ordinary carpenter made it. In an ancient treatise, perhaps as old as the Icelandic sagas, which has been preserved in its manuscripts—a thousand thanks to its discoverer—it is stated that one of the great-great-great-etc.-etc..etc.-grandsons of the builder of Noah's Ark—may be Noah himself or any of his hirelings, because traditions differ here—devised it and cast a spell around it and placed it on the right side of the then reigning potentate's throne. When the court is in full swing, it is kept under guard, no living soul is allowed to step inside it except in obedience to what in legal

parlance is called a summons. Reader, if thou art ever called to enter this magic cell, thou must be thoroughly coached, or should I say " tutored "—a nasty expression though. It is one of the stiffest trials that thou hast to face. Betake thyself to thy school-days, especially the tedious period of thy examinations when thou didst make " night the joint labourer with day." When the court-crier calls thy name, thou must keep thyself ready to be taken in the presence of grave justice. Thou hast to take thy stand on that spell-bound platform and bow thyself down as low as the earth. Catch the railings of thy stand with all thy might, for thou wouldst surely feel thy legs shaky as if seized with a cramp and thy heart palpitating as if the last day of thy reckoning has approached, thy voice sinking within thyself, thy lips quivering like aspen-leaves and thy forehead glistening with dripping perspiration. I don't think that the fighters at the field of Waterloo or on Mount Quebec were of stouter heart than thee if thou canst remain steady when thou art exposed to the fire of cross-examination. Jesu Maria shield thee when thou art in such a plight !

Reader, thou mayst try howsoever thou likest but can'st thou free thyself from the purview of law ? Never. Thy whole being is founded on the legal bedrock. I am as sure " as the night follows the day " thou wert born in lawful wedlock—ah, don't be upset, for it is a legal presumption in thy favour. A jurist whose capacious brain is vaster than the fallow land wherein thy cattle grazes, while dilating upon the legal aspect of life the other day, happened to remark incidentally that husbands should 'beware of Law and her upbraidings.' If thou art a husband—alack the day, that thou didst become so—thou shouldst be very punctilious in thy dealings with thy kith and kin even in thy own citadel. Is not thy wife thy partner and ergo thy connubial life a partnership concern ?—Ah, a creation of Law. Remember, that the days of Pater Familias are extinct. Thy actions are jealously watched inspite of thee. Law has set her spies upon thee. If thou thinkest that thou canst take off thy mask of civility in thy own inner chamber, thou hast committed an error in law as well as in fact, for it is " a mixed question of law and fact " as the legal phraseology goes. If thy tea is not served with thy waking up or thy meal is cold at dinner or thy soup is unsavoury, for God's sake, don't run into a fit of temper, for thou art sure to be caught up in the legal trap. Thou hast many foibles, *e.g.*, thy habit of excessive

smoking, or thy love of cinema, or thy physical deformities which perhaps thy friends and critics have long ago condoned, *e.g.*, a slight bend in the bridge of thy nose, a little thickness in thy lips, a negligible squint in one of thy eyes or perhaps thy teeth not properly set in thy gum—not to speak of thy more serious follies, which I hope thou hast none. Dost thou think thou wouldst be tolerated and thy defects overlooked if thou hast no patience to put up with an unduteous housewife ? If she has duties towards thee, hast thou not more onerous ones towards her ? Ah, if thou art not of a compromising bent of mind, an inevitable clash ensues, leading to an action which—God bless thy soul !—thou shouldst avoid. Thou art not to shrug thy shoulders at her expensive habits or twist thy lips at her tastes or scowl at her lapses. If thou dost, she takes up the cudgel of Law to hammer thy brain out. If the French Revolution can boast of the fall of the Bastille and the emancipation of mankind, Law has to her credit the fall of harems with their privacy. Let there be no walls in thy home—only doors and windows to let in whomsoever she pleaseth. Thou art not to remonstrate but submit calmly and abide thy time. If she is a Barbery hen, spare no pains to smooth her ruffled plumes, or law will cast thee adrift in a wave-tossed sea of perplexities, shame and ignominy. Remember the poetico-legal adage :

" A friend in the court is better than a penny in purse."

AUROBINDO'S LIFE DIVINE*

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

AS a colleague of Bipin Pal (1858-1932), Aurobindo Ghosh was one of the remakers of political India during 1905-10. In those days he was associated with the daily *Bande Mataram* and the weekly *Karmayogin*, both issued from Calcutta. Later, he retired from politics and public life and during the World-War I (1914-18) he appeared in a new rôle. He started the weekly *Arya*, a philosophico-religious journal, and contributed, among other articles, a series of essays on the problems of existence. His categories comprised supermen, *avataras* (incarnations of God), illusion, ignorance, intuition, sense-mind, supermind, cosmic extension, conscious force, extra-cosmic moral God, *sachchidananda* (existence-knowledge-bliss), time, space, causation, pain, suffering, evil, struggle, supramental spiritual beings, nature's evolutionary endeavour, Gnostic Being and so forth. The publication of these papers (1914-16), bearing on "divine life" as now called, revealed to the socio-political world in a prominent manner some of the idealistic and philosophical aspects of Aurobindo's personality and literary creativities such as had been known to his intimates and even to the reading public during his political and pre-political periods.

Life Divine, available today in two volumes (or three parts), must not then be taken to be a recent work. It is a revised and enlarged edition of the articles published twenty-five years ago and by all means goes ideologically back to Aurobindo's Baroda days (previous to 1906). It is necessary to emphasise the older origins of this work because it happens to be entirely non-social, non-political and non-moral as well as non-propagandistic in contents. Although non-political in make-up, *Life Divine* is a photograph of some of the

* For some other aspects of Aurobindo's philosophy, see B. K. Sarkar, *Creative India* (Calcutta, 1937), and *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (1941).

A series of biographical studies on Aurobindo by Girijasankar Raychowdhury has been appearing in the Bengali monthly *Udbodhan* (Calcutta). The Magh, 1348 (January-February, 1942) number brings the story down to August 14, 1940.

ideologies of Aurobindo as existing during his political career. The *Arya* came chronologically after the *Bande Mataram* and the *Karmayoyin*. But logically and psychologically it pervaded the *Bande Mataram-Karmayogin* complex, nay, had been at work in Aurobindo's psycho-social pattern previous to 1906. The two Aurobindos flourished simultaneously for a long time.

Some of the categories of Aurobindo, idealistic as they are, look intangible and esoteric. There are vaguenesses bound up with his intuition as with Bergson's. The Bergsonian *élan vital* and Aurobindo's creative *Shakti* (energy) are anything but definite and precise. He postulates a supermind and has a number of categories with "super" or "supra." These are not likely to be easily acculturated to the *Gestalt* of commonsense psychology. In spite of these formidable difficulties Aurobindo's concepts are quite assimilable to the matter-of-fact intelligence and may be accepted without headache by the work-a-day world. His ideologies do not declare a panicky withdrawal from the relam of realities and are not anxious to get naturalized in an imaginary world of visions and dreams. Aurobindo has delivered an ontological analysis adapted to the men and women of flesh and blood. His life divine is essentially a humane existence, a secular world-order, a new dispensation of gods among human beings or god-like humanities. He never forgets that his feet are made of clay and that although he may soar to the skies he has still to stand firm on the ground.

Aurobindo's philosophy or metaphysics is then at bottom not esoteric or mystical. It is thoroughly factual and pragmatic. Salon metaphysicians of East and West with their alleged interest in the mysteries of life are likely to go to a wrong address in case they should care to believe in him as one of their guides. He is not catering to the professional dealers in mysticism and supra-cosmic bliss. It is for man and the earth that he analyzes the evolutionary process operating as it does in individual personality. There is nothing of defeatism in this intellectual pattern. Nobody can find in it any trace of disappointment or disgust with life, time, space, world, society or state. He is not thinking of the kingdom that "is not of this world." The mentality that considers grapes to be sour, that is, the mentality of failures in business and politics, has not gone to the construction of *Life Divine*. Its *milieu* is not touched by any reactions to that dismal pattern. Imponderables, hallucinations,

unearthlies and such other stuff do not constitute the *forte* of Aurobindo's " fine frenzy " and form no part of his evolutionary life process. He is a robust materialist like Vivekananda[1] and is saying the " everlasting yea " to life, man and the world.

" God having entirely become Nature," says Aurobindo, " Nature seeks to become progressively God." In his ontology divine life is affirmed upon earth and " an immortal sense in mortal existence." Eternal spirit is recognized by him as " the inhabitant of the bodily mansion, the wearer of this mutable robe." He accepts matter of which the body is made as " a fit and noble material " out of which eternal Spirit " weaves constantly His garbs " and builds recurrently the unmending series of His mansions." Aurobindo's postitivism or secularism, transcendentalized and spiritualized as it is, finds expression in the statement that " we can attain to the highest without blotting ourselves out from the cosmic extension."

The divine life is the life lived by Aurbindo's superman, who is to be sharply distinguished from the superman conceived by others, say, by Nietzsche. It is " a life in the Divine, a life of the beginnings of a spiritual light and power and joy manifested in material nature." The life of spiritual supermental supermanhood manifests itself in the " intensity and urge of the real " and the " deliverance and sovereignty of its light and power and beauty." Aurobindo does not conceive an " egoistic supermanhood seizing on a mental and vital domination over humanity." His supermen are interested in the sovereignty of the spirit over its own instruments, its possession of life in the power of the spirit. In this life divine " humanity itself shall find its own self-exceeding and self-fulfilment by the revelation of the divinity that is striving for birth within it." (Vol. II, Part II.)

The concept of " divine life " or " spiritual supermanhood " is organically linked up with the idea of the " conquest of death " and the realization of " earthly immortality." Aurobindo postulates a supermind. Its relations to the mind are twofold. The supermind descends into the mind, and the latter evolves into the former. The result is the " evolution of an untrammelled consciousness, a mind and sense not shut up in the walls of the physical ego or limited to

[1] See B. K. Sarkar, " Vivekananda, Kant and Modern Materialism " (*Calcutta Review*, April, 1939).

the poor basis of knowledge given by the physical organs of sense." Life power is thereby liberated from its mortal limitations and the physical life becomes fit for a divine inhabitant. Death is conquered and immortality realized on earth. (Vol. I.)

Aurobindo maintains a non-moral attitude in regard to ontological questions. Morality, according to him, is the farthest removed from reality. "The attempt of human thought to force an ethical meaning into the whole of nature is one of those acts of wilful and obstinate self-confusion, one of these pathetic attempts of the human being to read himself into all things and judge them from the standpoint he has personally evolved, which most effectively prevent him from arriving at real knowledge and complete sight." (Vol I.) This is the ethics of absolutism in which morality and immorality both lose their meanings and identities.

The chapters of *Life Divine* commence with original passages from the ancient Vedic (comprising Upanishadic and *Gita*) literature. Throughout the dissertation Aurobindo tries to keep close to the words and phrases of the old sages. He even makes a very substantial use of the imageries employed in the *Puranas* and *Tantras*. The use of *Shiva* (god) and *Shakti* (goddess) is no less fundamental in his categories than that of *sachchidananda* (existence, consciousness and joy). One can almost believe that Aurobindo is functioning, if not as a translator or paraphraser, at any rate as a commentator and interpreter of the old Hindu philosophico-religious and mystico-metaphysical doctrines. To this extent there is a great similarity between his rôle and that of his senior contemporary, Vivekananda (1863-1902), *vis-à-vis* the philosophy and religion of ancient India. Aurobindo is, like Vivekananda, undoubtedly one of the modern representatives of a long and historic tradition.

But Aurobindo's commentary and interpretation of the old Hindu —Vedic and medieval—ideologies are not traditional. And here, again, Aurobindo agrees with Vivekananda in breaking away from the traditional methods of dealing with the thoughts of the predecessors. Both are original enough to endow well-known texts with new meanings and establish novel orientations to millennium-old ideas. In both, therefore, the thoughts of the ancients have been re-born and acquired novel patterns. Indeed, both can be regarded as philosophers by their own rights and not by the right of translation, paraphrase or commentary. Both are, therefore, essentially different from the

academic authors about, or historians of, old Indian philosophical speculations.

But here the resemblances cease. Aurobindo is not identical with Vivekananda. In Vivekananda the man-making, practical, reformistic world-transforming urges are predominant. In Aurobindo, so far as this particular publication is concerned, such propagandistic motives are almost entirely in the background. Vivekananda is conscious of his rôle as prophet, world-reformer and re-maker of men and women. Such urges may not be absent in the mental and moral make-up of Aurobindo's *Life Divine*. But his chief concern is purely psychological It is the analytical approach to the evolution of the person or the individual in the background of the two beyonds, up and down, that interests him in the first place. Aurobindo is here a philosopher, pure and simple, if any such there be. He is holding forth as a mere researcher, so to say, about life and its processes.

Another distinction is patent on the surface. In the *Complete Works of Vivekananda* (seven volumes, Mayavati edition) it is not possible to find a connected, systematic or comprehensive treatment of life and its problems. Vivekananda left no large-sized system of thought, no well-co-ordinated outline of mental, moral or social philosophy. But Aurobindo's *Life Divine*, so far as it goes, is a comprehensive philosophical treatise. We encounter here a fully developed pattern of synthetic thought. It has been built up stage by stage and from point to point with the rigour of exact logic and the outlook of a trained philosophical thinker.

But, on the other hand, a strong structural unity is to be noticed between Vivekananda and Aurobindo as representatives of modern philosophy. In the interpretations offered by Vivekananda we encounter the impacts of European thought. Perhaps the German idealist, Fichte, and his British popularizer, Carlyle, may be singled out as two of the most prominent idealistic currents which influenced Vivekananda in re-shaping the *Upanishads* and *Vedanta* according to his conception of the re-making of man. In Aurobindo the key to modernism is to be found likewise in European thought. The doctrine of evolution—physical, spiritual, cosmic—plays a great part in Aurobindo's ontology. In this he is indebted substantially to the dialectic of Hegel as much as to the creative evolution of Bergson. On the other hand, his emphasis on divinity as the goal of evolution is spiri-

tually akin in a general manner to the complex of ideas associated with the categorical imperative of Kant. The "two worlds" of Kant—the sense-world and the spirit-world—nature and man or the inner world—have profound bearings on Aurobindo's mind and supermind.

On the whole, Aurobindo's *Life Divine* embodying as it does the philosophy of progress for the individual is calculated to furnish a great stimulus to all workers in moral and social problems. For one thing, it counsels solicitude as much for the matter as for the spirit. For another, it discovers the creative *shakti* (energy), the evolutive principle, not in the environment, the *milieu* or the society, but in the *jiva* (self), the person, the individual. And here we meet Vivekanan la in a round-about way.

The moral of this non-moral philosophy is then obvious. It is a fitting *dénouement* of the ideas and ideals which are associated with the Aurobindo of the glorious Bengali revolution of 1905-10. It is in tune with his great message of these days, namely, "Work that she (motherland) may prosper, suffer that she may rejoice." Indeed, as indicated at the outset, the ideologies and messages of the two Aurobindos ran *pari passu*, having emerged out of one and the same psycho-social matrix.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL OUTLOOK IN LITERARY CRITICISM

AMIYA KUMAR SEN, M.A.

IV

THE ARTIST AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

DURING the last hundred years Society has been undergoing very rapid and almost cataclysmic changes. The new economic order which has been established after the Industrial Revolution has introduced a rapid change in social life. Methods of production have lost their old individualistic characters and become standardised. The worker is now a mere clog in the vast machine of industry. Far-fling markets, delicately balanced economic forces, the uncertain ties of the public demand for commodities—they have suppressed individualism and imposed upon the employer a subtle conformity and even enslavement to the immense organisation of commerce Other classes of men have not escaped this standardisation of life. Education has been systematised to suit the average pupils' average needs and thus serve its vastly expanded field. The learned professions have had to adjust themselves to the requirements of modern life and society. "In all professional pursuits the practitioner has to leave the last half of himself outside and serve his community as if he were mere a function than a self-hood."

In the domain of culture, science has introduced a new spirit. It has sought to discover scientific laws in all departments of life. The mental horizon of the common man has been enlarged beyond recognition. But the very extent of such expansion has been responsible for a disruption of the homogeneity of culture. Different schools of thought have been developed, each with its prophet, its ideology and its fanatics. " As these rival schools of thought or belief number their adherents by the thousand " it is only natural that each denomination should become " standardised, designed for the mass, imposed as an expression of the average." The individual has to accept one of these many ideologies and accommodate himself somehow to " its comprehensive and generalised doctrines." It is practically impossible for any one to study all the different schools of thought. The individual has, perforce, to confine himself to his own peculiar

sect. Constant adherence to one particular system of thought destroys the flexibility of his mind. He creates about himself a groove beyond which he does not stray. The modern man has lost sight of the individual. His mind is dominated by conceptions of the *norm* and of forces, social economic and even cultural. This peculiar outlook influences his private life as well. It simplifies one's ideas. Man finds a welcome relief to picture himself as a type with well-defined contours rather than as that bewildering mass of complex tendencies, the individual. His self-consciousness is thus standardised. He finds it convenient " to think of his private circumstances in general terms—the home, society, the marriage-tie, the eternal verities, the inner voice of conscience." These are not mere convenient phrases—labels—but real institutions to which he has to conform in actual life. " Man has thus become the slave of his own opportunities."

Thoughtful men have protested against this vulgarisation of culture. They have pointed out with unerring insight its pernicious influence on literature and life. But the fact remains that such vulgarisation is the price which modern society has to pay for the immense expansion of the range of culture. It is merely the counterpart of the universality of culture.

Class-consciousness, again, has warped the vision of many. They judge of a tendency of thought and action not by reference to its repercussions on the entire community. They merely calculate its effects on the class to which they happen to belong. In all such judgments the value of the human personality is often lost sight of. Man becomes a mere unit in the complex socio-economic structure of the modern world.

In spite of all such stupendous forces making for uniformity, the individual refuses to become a mechanised automaton. He has an intimate self with its " own little kingdom," its " own autonomy and civic welfare." It would not willingly sacrifice its independence, but clings to its identity as its most precious heritage. It may consent to an alliance with the social forces of its environment but not to a total absorption by them. Consciously or unconsciously, man sits in judgment over his environment. The level of culture which he has so far attained determines the character of his evaluations. " The unit always keeps up a running commentary—generally inarticulate—on the aggregate." Sometimes it judges the world from the materialistic point of view; sometimes, again, it criticises the aggregate by reference

to what it considers to be the highest and best in human nature. This complex situation in modern life involving a definite struggle on the part of man to retain his individuality as against the tendencies towards depersonalisation so prevalent in society has influenced contemporary critical thought ; and some eminent critics of today have begun to interpret literature from the standpoint of the preservation and development of the human personality. Literature, according to this point of view, can save man's inner self by making it articulate. Artistic self-expression gives man the opportunity to escape from the mechanisation of life which has well-nigh absorbed all human activities. The vitality of art and literature however, depends, on ultimate analysis, upon the uniqueness and the significance of the self it expresses. The self of the artist does not reveal itself fully through far-fetched and speculative interests. They do not stir the human personality deeply. In them man cannot fully express his temperament. " They savour too much of the external civilisation which diversifies the intelligence and narrows the spirit." The writer is " more at home with his own private impulses and inclinations and his instinct to pass judgment on the customs and conventions of society."

Mere ego-centric self-expression cannot, however, satisfy the artist. He wants recognition from others. He expresses himself not merely to render his personality articulate but to project it into the lives of others as well. Literature is both expression and communication. The artist is " always seeking common ground with those nearest to him in taste and temperament." He wants to find a response from the inner world of his fellow-men by revealing to them his own inner world of feelings, aspirations and dreams. This is true both when he expresses himself directly and when he does so in directly through the creatures of his imagination. " The form and theme are merely devices for catching the reader's attention " for " putting him in a receptive mood." The reader finds in the artistic creations expressions of an emotional life similar to his own ; in them he recognises aspects of his own personality rendered, it might be, more articulate than they could otherwise have been. He acquires a consciousness of his own personality through participating in the spirit of the artist's creation. He acquires a relief similar to that of the poet himself.

The cultural environment of modern Europe has brought into prominence the question of the preservation of the self-hood of man

as against the thousand and one forces, social, economic and intellectual, which seek to suppress his individuality. Discerning critics are very often attracted towards literature as something which preserves the spiritual heritage of man against the almost universal tendency towards the mechanisation of life. Literature looks to the inner world of man for its sustenance. It expresses the artist's reaction to his environment. It is, very often, the individuals "verdict on the aggregate." But is not the antithesis suggested in such a view too absolute to be true? Is the relationship between man and his environment always one of antagonism? Is it not rather, a fact that man grows in personality not only in reaction against his society but in co-operation with it as well? The world as we see it around us is a complex whole the different aspects of which are inextricably bound up together. For facility of investigation our analytical intellect divides up this complex concrete reality into different entities in order to concentrate upon one to the exclusion of others. "Self," "the objective world"—These are all mental abstractions for speculative purposes. The subject and the object, man and his environment, form, in the world of reality, a complex whole. The human personality imbibes from the social environment much that develops it. Literature, which is the expression of personality is coloured by this complex relationship between man and his environment. It is both a judgment on and an expression of the social environment.

The artist, it is suggested, saves his individual self by making it articulate. The pressure of circumstance always strives to mould him in the same pattern as the so-called normal man. It seeks to make him into a mechanical *robot* and divest him of all personality. It is by self-expression that man tries to escape from this inevitable mechanisation of life. But even the self-hood of man cannot and does not develop in vacuum. It cannot grow in complete isolation or antagonism to the objective world. The social and economic forces do indeed, play their part in human history. Man is "always passing through a series of metamorphoses." He submits often unconsciously, to his environment. This is not, however, the whole truth. The inner man, though it might adapt itself to socio-economic changes is assuredly not a mere automaton responding blindly to external stimuli; and "the deciding factor in our reactions will be found not so much in our environment as in the tone and temper with which the individual

faces it, in the content of his mind, his motives and impulses, his sense of values." Ideals are, as much powerful, in the development of our socio-economic structure as tendencies and forces ; and ideals express the personality of their creators and exponents. The human personality projecting itself on the objective world cannot be ignored. Man realises his individual self not by creating vague worlds of beauty completely isolated from the world of activity but by expressing it through changes in the environment. He is the inheritor of the treasured wisdom of ages. Out of the thought-world created by the spiritual adventures of his predecessors he assimilates and imbibes " a system of principles an ideology congenial to his own aspirations "— a frame-work of ideas rich in suggestions regarding the form in which he can find self-expression. On this frame-work he builds up his own world of ideas, ideals and aspirations. Wordsworth thus created his own world of poetic aspiration and Shelley his ; and their difference in outlook shows clearly the important part played by their individual selves in such creation. It is these dreams which govern the activities of man's life. He cannot rest satisfied with mere protest. He must adjust his environment to his dreams. " He must not only believe in his vision but be able to prove it in daily experience." In the midst of the darkest despair, his spirit seeks the visionary gleam of the ideal in the real and finds it.

Wordsworth looks on the world and finds in it a spirit deeply interfused. Shelley's world is all aglow with the translucent glamour of the Spirit of Beauty. The Marxist looks at the weltering mass of change and finds " dialectical materialism " writ large over its surface. The human spirit finds its strength in such continuous adjustment of the ideal to the real. " Thus men go through life, trying to substantiate their ideas in their environment in order to give their spirit scope," and it is only when literature expresses these spiritual adventures of man that it can liberate the human spirit from mechanisation.[1]

Escape from mechanisation is not the only incentive to literature even in modern times. Underneath the surface of dicadence and disintegration there are, in every age, tendencies of thought and action making for a new synthesis and a new pattern of life. These seeds of a new birth lie dormant in social life and are not easily discernible by common men. It is only the highly sensitive minds

[1] Routh—Towards the Twentieth Century.

of rare spirits which can discern them. The poet and the artist gifted as they are with super-normal sensibility can not only become conscious of these inchoate aspirations working in the life of a community but assimilate them to their own selves. Gifted with extra-ordinary powers of synthesis they very often integrate the different tendencies working in isolation in society. A pattern of life is thus created and expressed through literature and art. Wordsworth and Coleridge were partially successful in the representation of such an integrated outlook and there is no reason to doubt that a similar integration of the divergent tendencies towards a new ideal in modern life will be achieved in future.

Literature, however, does not confine itself to new ideas and new ideals. When the poet sees the panorama of life around him, his imagination, very often, seeks to express in his poetry the pattern which confronts him on every side. He cannot help participating in the "general state of mind" prevalent in his own age; and it is given to him not only to create visions of the future but to integrate the experiences of the present as well. The disillusionment and despair of the modern age, the disintegration of the traditional pattern of life which such disillusionment involves, the petrification of human passions, emotions and impulses which result there from—poets in modern English literature have been seeking to express them all in their poetry. Their success and their failure only show their desire to integrate the chaos of contemporary life into a total impression. Such an urge is also an incentive towards artistic creation. As Eliot so rightly observes, "The great poet, in writing himself, writes his time. Thus Dante, hardly knowing it became the voice of the thirteenth century; Shakespeare, hardly knowing it, became the representative of the end of the sixteenth century, a turning point in history;" and does not Eliot himself seek to present in his Waste Land "the intolerable burden of his 'unreal city' the lack of purpose and direction, the inability to believe really in any thing and the resulting 'heap of broken images' that form the excrutiating contents of the post-War state of mind?" The dynamic mind of the artist and the equally dynamic environment in the midst of which he lives are bound up together in a relationship too complex to be characterised in general terms. By placing an undue emphasis on one aspect of this relationship critics give only a partial view of the artist and his environment.

THE SYMBOLIC TENDENCY IN MODERN DRAMA

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SYMBOLISM is a deep-rooted force in our emotional and rational life, and lies at the basis of all art, literature and philosophy. As a result of modern psychological researches, the whole dramatic output of the modern era seems to have taken a symbolistic turn. Many dramatists, who started as uncompromising realists, conscientiously recording the petty details of external life, got converted to the idea of a psychological treatment, using suggestions, soliloquies, asides, double human personality, stream of consciousness and other similar devices. This psychological drama could not but further the ends of a symbolic drama, providing it with a highly polished and scientific machinery to work with, but shocking the conventional realists into making virulent attacks on this new foundling.

Though the English temperament is opposed to the cult of symbolism as such, English poets like the Metaphysicals of the seventeenth century—William Blake, the entire Pre-Raphaelitic school, Francis Thompson, Swinburne, and T. S. Eliot—reveal a great symbolic heritage. Vaughan's mystic symbolism of the Universe, through the recurring images of the " Great Ring " and the " Endless Light " is particularly daring for a period of three hundred years ago. Blake, like Dante, thought in a series of symbolic pictures consisting of clouds, stars, the sun, trees, insects, dragons and monsters. Even the plain homely vision of Keats's " La Belle Dame Sans Merci " was to ripen later into the philosophical symbolism of " Lamia." Among the more modern of these poets, symbolism grew to be a decadent creed more or less, as, with them, only one or two of the elements constituting the true symbolism—music, or sexual suggestions—occurred so much in excess of the normal, that it disturbed the balance of forces keeping the structure of symbolism intact.

Whereas the dramatic output in France, Russia, Germany and Ireland moved slowly towards symbolism, England still *fought shy*

of the game and was content to find itself lodged in a half-way house, *i.e.*, fantasy. An English mind like that of J. M. Barrie did not accept or repudiate reality—it simply set it aside, with childlike innocence and curiosity, fearing to enter the realms of a deeper philosophical symbolism. We feel that English dramatic fantasy is typical of the English sense of compromise strengthened by the perpetual mists of England, which favour the magical, but much against the Southern tendency, hates to dabble in the supernatural. Though the drama of symbolism has languished on the English stage, it has, we think, ingredients in it, which, if they are fully worked out, would lead the present English drama from the state of plethora, into which it has fallen of late, to the superior level of the higher drama which is the crying need of the hour. Every war that comes, leaves a modicum of symbolic consciousness in people, and makes us aware of the vaster forces in constant and deep interplay with human personality. The workman in Berkeley's *White Chateau* (1927) says:

> ". . . For make no mistake—the next time is the last time, the civilisation of Europe will vanish. . . . "

Who knows, on the ruins of the present material civilisation, a broader form of civilisation may raise its head, with an international outlook, a deeper understanding of man and his spiritual needs, a greater harmony and fusion of human reason and human emotions—for true it is, that there is no deadlier foe to a symbolic culture than the modern machine, which makes the human mind work along narrow causal and logical grooves—the " Show me " mentality. There will, in future, be a greater need of the mobilisasion of human emotions through symbols like the " V." Drama can be an excellent medium of rallying democratic emotions. Successful symbolism can make a fervent appeal to the entire personality of man through a solid plastic structure and can even beat the Cinema in the opportunities it offers for a mutual reaction between the actors and the audience. Drama has flourished most in the midst of national upheavals ; Greek Tragedy flourished at the time of Salamis ; the Spanish Drama is contemporaneous with the conquest of the New World ; Corneille and Molière were made possible by the deeds of Henry the Fourth. In the theatre, more than anywhere else, is the symbolic representation most gripping. Modern drama must learn to transcend the old

Shakesperean drama, and symbolize *ideas*, for as Friedrich Hebbel (*Modern Book of Criticism*, Ludwig Lewishom) says:

> "*Ideas* are to Drama what 'counterpoint' is to Music, nothing in themselves, but the basic condition of everything."

Ideas, we say, more than the dialogue, more than the character, more than the plot, should be the primary concern of modern dramatists. George Moore (*The Villa and the English Literature*) makes the point still more clear, when he says:

> "Not the thing itself, but the *idea* of the thing evokes the idea. Schopenhauer was right; we do not want the thing, but the *idea* of the thing. The thing itself is worthless; and the moral writers who embellish it with pious ornamentation are just as reprehensible as Zola, who embellishes it with erotic arabesques. You want the idea drawn out of the obscuring matter. This can best be done by the symbol; a name, a plume in earlier ages sufficed to evoke the idea; now we evoke nothing, for we give everything."

To-day, happily, symbolism is coming into its own on the English stage, thanks to the efforts of Messrs. Appia and Craig. We, the moderns, pine for a delicate transmutation of little casual things that cross our daily sojourn in the physical world, and a certain faint low sweet music luring us to magical regions outside the clamour of material reality. Halcott Glover in his *Drama and Mankind*, while generally against this symbolic tendency, in *Modern Drama* commends the use of puppets and masks, which are a form of symbolism:

> "Nothing could be more objective than a speaking puppet. Imagine the Treaty of Versailles presented in a puppet theatre: This would be the view of gods with a vengeance."

In the theatres of Continental dramatists, like Strindberg and Maeterlinck, the same principle of an artificial transmutation of outside reality is observed. It half reveals and half conceals the idea it wants to dramatise. It would be wrong to suggest that a symbolic dramatist would lack popular appeal as the spectators and readers of drama, hate the *vague* but not the *mysterious*. We may, in defence of genuine symbolist dramatists, say that they hate vagueness more profoundly than the conventional realists. The apparently hollow figures of the

plays of Maeterlinck, Strindberg and Pirandello, steeped in the sea of somnambulance, dreading like peevish children the Unknown 'Beyond,' not complaining, but silently trudging along the path of sorrow, Hauptmann's nondescript characters, who are moved on to action by some mysterious urge within them, puppets jerked here and there, Hardy's Choruses and Recording Angels, Ibsen's double-faced characters, Yeats's Cathleen who, from the shape of a seducing old crone, becomes suddenly " a young girl and she had the walk of a queen," Tagore's Mr. Diamond and Miss Hearts (*Kingdom of Cards*, Viswabharati Quarterly, April, 1939), Elmer Rices's Mrs. Zero and Mrs. One (*The Adding Machine*, 1923), Chekov's dreamy somnambulists in *The Cherry Orchard*, Barrie's Blue Bird, have all a message to give to humanity. Dead ideas and persons are revived by Masefield in his *Melloney Holtspur* (1923), by Strindberg in his *Swanwhite* (1901), and by Barrie in his *Blue Bird* (1909). The symbol of a pistol is responsible for the downfall of the Ekdall family in Ibsen's *Wild Duck*, which itself is the key-symbol of the play ; cigars beautifully symbolize the evil dreams of a man in Lennox Robinson's *The Lost Leader* (1918) ; even doors are significant in Maeterlinck's, Ibsen's and Barrie's plays—doors which, according to D. C. Stuart (*The Development of Dramatic Art*),

> " . . . will not close, doors that will not open, doors that guard treasures, ghosts, plagues, women who will not be free . . ." ;

the strange sound of " tom-tom " which continues to proclaim the doom of *The Emperor Jones* (1922) in Eugene O'Neill's play of that name, the equally strange cry of " Jumalai " by Huhn in Hauptmann's play *And Pippa Dances* (1916) ; the variety of symbolic flowers evidenced in Masefield's *The Tragedy of Nan* (1908), Gerhart Hauptmann's *Hannele* (1900), and the *No* Plays of Japan (first translated in 1913); the trees, the animals, the Sea, the snow, the Sun, all personified—nay, even the drinking of a cup of coffee, kissing an old man, stroking a piece of furniture, hunting a pair of goloshes, as in Chekov's musical plays—all these things come to assume a rare mystic flavour. Even in the plays of Shaw we notice this inevitable tendency. The characters verily become walking intellects and, more often than not, a Shavian play becomes an " unearthly ballet of bloodless categories " (*G. B. Shaw : Studies in Dying Culture*

by Cristopher Caudwell). Shaw's symbolization of the Life-Force, consciously working towards the creation of a super-race and ultimately Godhood, is not superimposed on mankind like the Unconscious Will of Hardy's *The Dynasts* (1925). It works itself out through the agency of mankind itself, benefiting those who fall in with its dictates and harming those who fall out. It is not a renewed version of the accidental, mechanistic evolution of Darwin, but it is a lively orientation of Bergson's Creative Evolution. The novel ideas of Nietzche, Wagner, Marx and Ibsen came to Shaw through Samuel Butler; but to everything he received from others, he gave an entirely original colouring. Shaw makes his characters mouthpieces or the living symbols of the Vital Force that he has so beautifully propounded through his historical plays. Saint Joan (1923) knows herself to be the vehicle of a New Truth. In Shaw's play *Heartbreak House* (1919), Mangan, who defies the Life-Force, and the burglar, out for practical success, are swallowed up by the symbolic explosion that occurs towards the end. In *Back to Methuselah* (1921), we see the Life-Force determined to solve the problem of humanity by producing better types. Here we see children being hatched out of eggs, both mentally and physically, developed and educated and achieving mortality suddenly at the age of four only, saddled with the proviso of an accidental death, always within reach of divine ecstasy—their only thought being to grow into flowing masses of pure thought and transcending all human limitations.

The characters of Pirandello, like the characters of Maeterlinck and Strindberg, are puppet characters, or roughly painted marionettes. A cruel operation of human personality is performed before our eyes and the human character is divested of its real semblance and gets tagged on to a particular scene or situation, irrespective of its environment, *e.g.*, in his play *Six Characters in Search of an Author* (1933). The ' mask ' of these characters has come to ' crystallize ' and they have become fixed. In *Each in his Own Way* (1934), we are faced with four planes of reality, or for the matter of that, of fiction. We are introduced to an audience, which is itself looking at a dramatic performance. A lady who takes objection to a particular scene on the stage, as being too personal and defamatory, finds herself embroiled in the same situation in real life—thus the outside reality is avenged by the reality of the dramatic art itself. Human personality, with all its inconsistencies, is laid bare in the

light of a Stream of Consciousness, similar to Shaw's Life-Force. Life in the last analysis turns out to be neither moral nor immoral, but simply *amoral*. Human character becomes the part of that all-pervading pure life, which forbids all poses, all disguises, all masks in everyday life. The rise of Psycho-analysis and Science has done much to commend this Pirandellian notion—in fact, the human character is steadily losing its deterministic character in Modern Drama and is fast becoming an automatic Robot, wire-pulled by the vaster forces.

Nikoliai Evreinof, in his play *The Theatre of the Soul* (1920), gives typical characters suggesting different phases and concepts of life through a short mono-dramatic process of cinematographic close-up. The very names of the characters are suggestive:

M1: Rational entity of the Soul.
M2: Emotional entity of the Soul.
M3: Subliminal entity.
Two concepts of the Dancer.
Two concepts of the Wife.

The play, we are told, was produced in a symbolic way by Miss Edith Craig, only faces of different entities appearing at different levels out of the darkness, the human heart being represented by a glowing red space which appeared to pulsate with the effect of light. The action passes in the human soul for the period of half a second. The thesis of the play is explained in the very beginning by the Professor, " That the soul is not indivisible but on the contrary is composed of several selves, the natures of which are different." The symbolist dramatists give in their dramas a sense of great power —in fact, the steel mills, the factories, the furnaces (as in Ernst Toler's play *Masses and Man* (1934), sudden shifts of points of view (as in Pirandello), cosmological forces as in O'Neill's *The Great God Brown* (1937), all receive pointed attention from the symbolist dramatist.

Flecker's posthumous *Hassan* (1922) is an excellent example of a poetic symbolism, which is at once colourful and chaotic. It is a deliberate symbolism, which takes away the element of 'surprise,' which is at the basis of all successful symbolism. The master or the key symbol here is Yasmin herself, culled as she is from Persian Poetry, a symbol to which all other symbols look for support

and inspiration, but, we feel, too many images have been evoked to suggest one dominant symbol, and the result, however brittle, is cumbrous and redundant from the aesthetic point of view. From this stark-naked statuesque symbolism with its superabundant sensuous appeal, one can, by way of a refreshing contrast, trudge along to the deep subtle spiritual and religious visions of Tagore and O'Neill. Here at last, the symbolism becomes very baffling at times, but at other times it becomes thoroughly enlightening. The best symbolism, however, is one which explains and unfolds itself gradually along with the reality it means to suggest. The worst is that which baffles the human imagination and makes reality suffer. This is often the case with those writers who pursue symbolism consciously (not minding the fact that symbolism, like happiness and coal-tar, is a bye-product, on certain requisite conditions being present), with an eye on the decorative treatment of their subjects, *e.g.*, Emile Verhaeren in the play *The Dawn* (1898). The characters in the latter case either become mouthpieces of the author's own opinion or degenerate into ineffectual puppets, devoid of any symbolic purpose. If Verhaeren failed to suggest an inner life by an outer spectacle and action, Rostand's allegorical play *Chantecler* (1919) succeeds marvellously in suggesting the variety of human beings by a reference to the world of birds and beasts. *Chantecler* is a study in human egotism and foolishness. The symbolism lingers and ripens with the aid of little traits of human character distributed as they are over so many birds and reaches a most natural climax in the end. Even the dog Patou, in his own humble person, seems to illustrate the doctrine of the transmigration of soul:

> " I am a horrible mixture, issue of every passer-by:
> I can feel barking within me the voice of every blood,
> Retriever, Mastiff, Pointer, Poodle, Hound,
> My soul is a whole pack, sitting in a circle, musing.
> Cock, I am all dogs, I have been every dog. . . . "

The symbolism of the play is absolutely transparent, but the difficulty of these moral allegories is that the ideas symbolized are too few as compared with the things, with the aid of which they are symbolized. The result of adducing too many objects to help the symbolism, as we saw in Flecker's *Hassan*, is to create confusion in

the mind of the reader and to mar the dramatic possibilities of the piece. Allegory, such as the one we have noted, is a much more inferior art than Symbolism but it can be very popular at times—as is the case with Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1589-96), and Goethe's *Faust* (1808). Allegory, as compared with Symbolism, is more sustained and has very little element of surprise about it. Allegory occupies a prominent place in the dramatic output of the Celtic school, and there it obtains effects very similar to those of Symbolism. Whereas an allegory is more or less an abstract parallel, very thin and superficial sometimes, a symbol is a more concrete and organic structure.

A symbol is related to a real background of concrete things or other symbols, but an allegory is more or less self-sufficient and needs no extraneous reference to supplement its meaning. In this light, a symbol is more ' real ' than an allegory. An allegory may fade away after some time, but a symbol, well fixed in a play, will enrich its meaning and ripen as the play proceeds and assume formidable proportions. Janko Lavrin (*vide* his *Ibsen*) lends support to our idea:

> " While allegory illustrates an idea, symbol incarnates it organically. Every allegory is an abstraction of the reality, while the symbol is a new reality in itself and by itself. Allegory is, therefore, static and intellectual ; symbol dynamic and emotional. The former we understand ; the latter we comprehend with our whole being. Allegory often narrows our conception of reality, symbol enlarges and deepens it."

In Masefield's *Nan* (1908), the symbol of the flower recurs again and again. It is not a static symbolism, but a dynamic one. Dick, in a moment of passion, makes Nan wear the rose flower that he had promised another sweetheart, and the symbol spreads its influence far and wide. Gaffer begins to remember his dead sweetheart. " Her have gone by on the road. With a rose in her hair, " he says. But the potentialities of the symbol are not exhausted here, the flower becomes the symbol *par excellence* of a tragedy of long ago. Says Gaffer:

> " They put my flower under the mould after (*Pause*) I heard the mould go knock."

A bit later, the same flower has become the symbol of the immortality of human love, the symbol must get richer and richer:

> Gaffer: " A bride's tears zoon dried. But love be a sweet vlower. A girt red vlower. Her do last for ever. For ever."

Gaffer falls into a symbolic ecstasy, when next he sees the flower assume the beautiful proportions of a woman of rare beauty, dead yet living:

> " . . . When I begone, there'll be none to tell the beauty of my vlower . . . her little grave all done up with shells and the vlowers that do come up, they be little words from 'er. Little zhining words."

But soon the symbol of the flower disappears in a vaster symbol, that of the tide, the Severn Bore:

> Gaffer (Telling of the death of his sweetheart): " She look out of the window, my little vlower done. She said ' the tide, the tide ' . . . and the horn blew . . . and she burst out laughing . . . and 'er fell back, my white vlower done. Gold hair on the pillow. And blood . . . blood of the girl, blood of my vlower."

This sort of dream-symbolism is also noticed in O'Neill's *Strange Interlude* (1936), where a longing lingering vision of her dead lover haunts Nina till the end of her days—in other words, a Gordon symbolism, which sustains her throughout the play till it is smashed to pieces and Nina finds her peace in God. In modern writers like O'Neill the disintegrated vision of our formless existence approaches the organic and clear vision of Dante—rather, Dante's ineffable cosmic vision imbibes more richness and plasticity on account of the rise and development of the sciences of Psycho-analysis and Physics. The vision of the Universe that came so naturally to Dante in his own times, and that had suffered eclipse through doubt and disillusionment, is well on its way to being re-synthesised. This synthetic vision seems to have inspired O'Neill's *The Great God Brown* (1937), where a simultaneous struggle goes on in the minds of Dion Anthony and William Brown. In the former, the pagan spirit of a painter-poet is longing for the consummation of the self-denying

spirit of Christianity, and in the latter, the conventional spirit of material success is hankering after the creative joy of a painter-poet. This central symbolism gets transferred to the minor characters of the play, and all figures become symbolical. The frequent Choruses in T. S. Eliot's plays create relief and suspense and contrast as in Greek Drama, but they also symbolize changes of space, time and tone in the progress of the plays. The Chorus of the Women symbolizes the ' Poor ' in bold contrast with the world of politics. The mood of this Chorus contributes to the general mood of the play *The Murder in the Cathedral* (1938). Eliot's varied reading and experience of life make his symbols obscure but very intense. Emotion and thought have been fused together to give suggestive pictures, but, sometimes, this thought-pattern of Eliot makes many of his characters fall into a dream-symbolism. Even the Tempters in this play fall into one ' type ' or another, make pre-digested speeches and disappear into darkness. Most of the figures in Auden and Isherwood plays, like *The Ascent of F6* (1936) and the *Dog Beneath the Skin* (1935), are " stuffed dummies." In the former play, we see the symbolism of the two Imperialisms, trying to reach the *F6* earlier than the other, a search which assumes the formidable proportions of the desperate search for the skull of Macwawah in Zanzibar. There is a direct satirical symbolism in the other joint play and the title suggests it. The hero—the " underdog " of the play—wants to see the world topsy-turvy, and, after his extensive journey, reaches the conclusion that " it is awful shock to start seeing people from underneath." We see, in the plays of these modern dramatists, a rare sense of physical and spiritual crisis, an uncanny prescience of an impending catastrophe, a feeling of shame and repentance over the past sins of humanity. These Moderns make use of the Chorus to symbolize the variegated workings of the human mind, and they, oftentimes, lapse into the secret code language of their private associations, which is hard to interpret. The symbolism either becomes too theatrical or too decadent. Besides, the symbols sometimes get over-intellectualised and lack an emotional warmth, which is a necesary adjunct to all true symbolism.

The traditional form of symbolism still remains the poetic, but, of late, as we have seen, expressionism has attacked the field. The stress of modern symbolic tendency has, as yet, been on the disintegration of human personality into small fragments of human consciousness,

rather than on a conscious and constructive attempt on its re-integration. But there are faint signs—already visible in the plays of O'Neill and Tagore—of the regeneration of a deeply religious vision almost epic in its grandeur, based upon a deeper human understanding and a scientific appreciation of the Universe in relation to humanity. It is extremely difficult to draw a line between a *poetic* symbolism and an *expressionist* symbolism. How can one, after all, say, how far the dramatist wished to project his fresh vision of the nature of outside reality or human consciousness, and how far he wished to be particular about the poetic symbols that should express his deeply personal vision ? Did the vision itself dictate the symbol, or did it, by some chance, get tagged on to a symbol already existing in the poetic tradition ? Is the vision so intense and dynamic as to shape itself into a novel symbol, or does it seek the aid of some extraneous accepted symbol to proclaim itself to the world ? These are very difficult questions to answer. The force of the writer's personality, his belief in the symbols that he evokes or propounds, the nature of their emotional appeal, can alone determine the success or otherwise of the dramatic symbolism. More often than not, the symbols evidenced in Modern Drama are not based on any emotional sympathy with the object of their observation, but they are merely a reflex of disillusionment, nervous excitement and ill-temper. Suggestion, imagery and tempo are the chief pivots on which a truly symbolic play should revolve.

This War will be won by symbolism. Already the Dictatorial countries have been making much use of this device. Words like the Hitler-girls, *blitzkrieg*, " Dance of Death over English Channel," have been used to sustain the *morale* of the people and mobilise the popular will. Thank God, we are listening to Churchill now talking of the Atlantic meeting as a *symbol* of Anglo-American friendship. We also hear so often " V for Victory " and the preparation of the " Bevin Boys." Reason, like the force of gravitation, is the weakest of forces, though ultimately the decisive factor in all human action and thought. It is to emotion we must look for a mundane victory. A symbolic expression will certainly preserve Democracy by emotionalising instinct and at the same time providing a foothold for reason.

Modern Drama has arrived at a turning of ways. It is difficult to judge what its fate will be at a time when everything that humanity holds dear, is at stake. But symbolism is a possibility

we may not ignore. Its universal acceptance after the last Great War, especially by the Little and the Intimate theatres of Europe and America, its gripping psychological appeal to people of all classes and creeds, the simplicity of its technique and structure, merit our careful consideration. It has already crossed over the barrier of narrow aggressive nationalism, uniting all people in the region of soul and human emotions. An international symbolic theatre, after the present War, may well serve beautifully to achieve the object that the League of Nations has failed to achieve, and who knows, if given a chance, it may, as the art of drama is rehabilitated in the socio-political life of the warring nations, serve as an international pathway of world harmony?*

* The essay is adapted from the author's thesis on "Symbolism in Modern Drama," presented to the Univereity of the Panjab, for the Ph.D. Degree, in September, 1940.

POLITICAL TRENDS OF THE DAY

SIR A. P. PATRO, KT., K.C.I.E.

THE war clouds are gathering thick on the Eastern Horizon. The German invasion of Russia has brought the War nearer to the borders of India in the Middle East and even now a section of India will not yet see the danger ahead and render everything in its power to co-operate with Great Britain and defeat the devastating power of Nazism. This is not the time to think of political and communal differences while the Enemy is knocking at the gates of India. The foremost concern should be one for War effort and for defence of India. The actions in Iraq and on the borders of Thailand are a sufficient warning. The War is not of Great Britain only. It is not a war of Imperialism but a war of defence of man's freedom. It is our war. Great Britain is engaged in defence of herself and other countries against the blighting attacks of Nazism. The one desire of the people is concentrated in defeating the Enemy. There is no other more serious occupation in England than War efforts. She is in a life and death struggle.

It is very gratifying to read that the Royal Indian Navy and the Air Force have been improved and strengthened after painful experience of battles against the enemy. The A.R.P. has become a great force. The armies of India are winning laurels in the battle-fields of Africa, Eritrea, Libya, Abyssinia and in the Middle East Iraq and Syria against Italy, France and other Axis forces. We have many differences with Great Britain, but these are such as could wait till the War is over. Is it possible for Great Britain to take up the controversial and complicated questions relating to constitution and procedure in regard to this Great Country. It is, however, an urgent call on all intelligent and patriotic Indians to educate the people on co-operation and friendship with one another, that the communal clashes are a great danger; the recent riots establish the menace to peace and harmony is subject to unless the internal differences are readjusted and the causes removed. Whoever may be responsible and whatever be the cause for such unhappy outbursts of passion regardless of the past

misgivings, a new life-principle must be organised. The people of India must work out their own freedom. of salvation. The internal condition is seething with discontent. The Hindu Leaders want that they should have a dominating voice in the Central Government and the Congress demands Independence and thereby establish Party Rule in the Country and in some Provinces. The Moslems are equally determined to make themselves felt and would not be subject to the majority power of the Hindus without adequate protection. The recent exhibition of unreasoning passion only emphasises this aspect which is the despair of all friends of peace and progress. The utterances of Hindu Sabha are most mischievous and intensifies Moslem and Hindu tension. It is a great political blunder to recognise the Hindu Sabha as a political organisation. The problem is said to be not political but economic and as such the common ground for economic improvement must be discovered to dig out the root evil and thereby create peace and good will among all classes and sects. I wish the problem was so easy of solution, but it is more deep-seated than appears on the surface. The Elective system and the Majority rule which are introduced into rural regions by the Reforms have awakened unhealthy feelings, and unrighteous ambitions to seek power and use it for one's end and not for the common good are largely responsible. The majority rule as such is a failure. Franchise has become a farce. This may seem an adverse comment against the capacity of rural areas for exercising power but the observation of thinking persons cannot escape this experience. The present system of franchise and election are unsuited to the conditions of the country. Parliamentary democracy is unsuited to India. Therefore the problem is not only economic but is also political. Communities and individuals, who had not hitherto exercised any rights and powers but were controlled by other agencies as disinterested persons, were placed in possession of powers which they fail to use properly. If the Moslems claim separate electorates and weightage there is much to be said in its favour. The Lucknow Pact was based on the realisation of the great inequality and backwardness of one class in comparison with the other.

A new right was vested in the hands of both Hindus and Mohammadans—a new force, in the exercise of which severe clashes arise. It seems, therefore, a new order must be evolved. The present system of franchise and elections must be changed. It was the earnest wish of all leaders and also of Gandhiji to attempt to create Hindu-

Moslem Union as of primary necessity and this occupied a prominent place in his programme. It is, however, to be noted that Gandhiji holds that time for settlement has not yet arrived and he is determined to take this up on the right moment.

The peculiar phenomenon apparent in the thought of the country is that we are always fighting for "other peoples' opinions and prejudices." Many of us go through life without having an original thought of our own on any subject. It is easier to be with the crowd and be led—it is a malady of mind and servility of thought brought about by years of our *Jo-hukum* submission, because we are afraid to think and act according to our judgment. For instance, everyone feels that the Satyagraha movement and Non-co-operation would lead the country nowhere. These methods weakened the backbone of the Congress organisation. Non-violent creed may be a good Philosophy but Gandhism in practice has not succeeded. It has led the country back to a decade and only a few individual leaders had the courage to stand by their own convictions and a large bulk of Congressmen look up to Gandhiji as a spiritual leader, infallible and far-sighted. There is no one else, no alternative to entrust the leadership. An attempt was made in preparing the resolution for a "National Government" in the Centre known as "Poona scheme"; Gandhiji did not find much in it and left the Congress. Then the leaders entreated him to accept unquestioned and unqualified leadership, in other words, dictatorship. His methods are not approved and yet there is no heart to oppose him. The Congressmen find as if there is no other alternative. A second illustration is the cry against so-called partition of India. Mr. Jinnah declared in unequivocal language before the Central Assembly that that question could not be taken up now and will be put forward along with all other problems for making a new constitution. Pakistan is meant to bring together people of the same race under one administration, the minorities having a legislative share in it. He asked for a reply from his critics if there was in any period in the history of India "national Unity" and "democracy" as a ruling principle governing the people. The British held India by other powers than the national co-operation of the country. In fact, it is a negation of national Union. But that is not the whole truth, as periods of history throw light on the fraternal relationship which existed between the two races. "It is, however," says Mr. Jinnah, "too much to claim

that Hindus and Mussalmans were one people at any one time." Therefore, by good will and reasonable accommodation only the domestic problem would be solved. Gandhiji says the time has not yet arrived. The British did not help the people, at least, no substantial help is rendered to bring about Union.

The aim and object of a certain class of politicians in India is to secure Hindu Renaissance under the guise of Constitutional Reforms, as it was in the dark days of Priestly Rule. The Hindu Kingdoms were no more than theocratic organisations controlled by the Shastric Law. The Mussalman Rule was not free from that kind of tyranny. At each period two conflicting civilisations prevailed and a certain proportion of commingling was inevitable, it was more of contact than of coalescence. It is after the British Rule, with the awakening of self-consciousness in the enlightened Public, that the desire for a common nationality has originated. Political democracy is meaningless without establishing economic equality and social freedom in India, such equality is the basis of real unity.

It is said that the present position in the country, namely, the rule of Section 93 of the Constitution Act, could be transformed if the British make up their minds to transfer power to Indians. The internal problems, communal relations and minority questions will all solve themselves by the aid of combined action of all Indians uniterrupted by a third party. It may seem a counsel of perfection, an ideal and a wishful thought, rather than a reality, but the dreams of to-day are realities of the morrow. It is admitted that the largest party does not represent the whole of Indian peoples: and the League could not yet enlist the entire Mussalman population. The Hindu Sabha is a religio-social body without any substance in its programme except that it is wholly communal and opposed to Mussalman interests. The Social and Economic needs and problems affecting the north and the south, the Aryan and Dravidian and the Pathan and Bengali vary very much, a common and binding force for all must be discovered and popularised among the masses to create a proper connecting force for a communal settlement. People do expect much from the Congress leader Gandhiji that he would be able to effect Hindu-Moslem Unity and thereby prepare the way for United Swaraj. Like some other parts of his programme this also did not have much practical effect. Gandhiji says the time for settlement has not yet arrived. He visualises that Indian agitation of Satyagraha might be carried on

for five years before it is of any effect. Has any other Indian group tackled this problem ?

There are persons intellectually great but of poor originality. Knowledge not applied to the benefit of humanity and solution of problems affecting the "starving millions" of people of India is perfectly useless. It is Pandit learning. There is little co-ordinated work among the various organisations which have the desire to reach the goal. Corporate action is very deficient. Energies are fritted away and trifles occupy more prominent places than the basic principles of Social Unity and Economic Development. Indian political parties failed in this direction.

The call for Satyagraha is heard as a muffled voice by many Congressmen. The first blush has passed and the people began to think more seriously about the future. The local Boards were to be emptied by them. The Satyagraha is now restricted to those who have done part of the practical programme. The political shibboleth of "freedom of speech" drove the Congress Ministries and Legislatures at the direction of an outside body irresponsible to the Legislatures and Electorates, thereby all work has been abandoned and Satyagraha sent them to the Jail. Gandhiji says the negative movement will continue for five years and those who come out may go again to be residents of the penitentiary. Meanwhile some non-Congress men, individuals in the country, pressed on the British Government to reorganise the Government at the Centre (without any concern for the Provinces) and they could in the ordinary course of events have no great effect and the Secretary of State answered the demands, it proved disappointing. The ostensible object of expanding the Governor-General's Council, *i.e.*, promotion of War effort, has not succeeded; what could they do without a following or power ? We have to wait and watch.

As practical men to secure the best advantage to the country there must be united action during the period of war, and after that we must work out our own scheme. It is necessary for the British Government not merely not to raise difficulties but also to help the country to solve them. Despite the results of the past, the Viceroy may still take another step and, according to the results of the talks, ways and means could be devised to give effect to his declaration of August, 1940, modified by the circumstances and the advice of Indian Political Leaders. The Dominion Status of Westminister Act Variety is

tantamount to Independence. It is a pity few people have seriously applied their minds to the provisions of the Westminster Act—*vide* Australia and Canada. Leaders of political parties totally rejected it. It is fundamentally necessary that all parties in India should join hands so that their united voice and power may enable them to reach an agreed plan and thereby win Swaraj. In this case the initiative must come from the people and the Government is bound to assist them in solving the difficulties and removing obstacles, without which statements and declarations are empty words. Britain should not give any room for suspicion in India regarding its *bona-fides*. The British are aware of the strong feeling in the country and they must act promptly, and meet the wishes of the united people.

SOME FEATURES OF LORD AUCKLAND'S STATESMANSHIP

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I

THE stain of the disastrous Afghan expedition has proved too much for Lord Auckland and his Indian administration has all along been considered to be devoid of any interest minus that of the Afghan War. His failure in military administration should not, however, make us blind to the fact that in civil administration Auckland did not touch a sphere which he did not enrich.[1] On a previous occasion it has been shown that as an educationist Auckland can certainly deserve to be ranked with Bentinck, Dalhousie or Curzon.[2] In that connection it has been pointed out how his policy of restoration of state-grants to Oriental learning earned for him the hostility of Anglicists like Rev. Alexander Duff who further denounced the Governor-General for not including the Christian scriptures in the syllabus of studies in English Colleges. Here we intend to discuss only two topics in which Auckland's Whig creed and Liberal outlook expressed themselves clearly. Firstly, we shall treat his relations with the Christian missionaries and Christianity in India. Secondly, we shall prove how he storve to win over the subject nation through social and political measures of both public and private nature.

II

AUCKLAND AND THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

Education without Religion. Ever since the final triumph of English education in 1835 the Christian missionaries had been carrying on with greater zeal the movement for introducing the Bible into English Colleges under state patronage. The pages of the *Calcutta*

1 *Friend of India*, March 10, 1842, gives an appreciation of Auckland's civil administration.

2 See 'Education under Auckland' in *Calcutta Review*, February, 1941.

Christian Observer of those days were full of denunciation of the "irreligious education" imparted in the Hindu College.[3] The point of view of the missionaries was that an education divorced from religion was on principle dangerous, that Western education minus Christianity was bound to be equally destructive of the Hindu notions and beliefs, and that teaching by men like Derozio[4] in an institution where there was no provision for religious teaching would lead to utter demoralisation. The case for Scripture classes in Government Colleges was indeed very ably conducted and the missionaries perhaps fondly expected some concessions from Auckland, who took an interest in the education imparted in the General Assembly's Institution and who was the first Governor-General to visit a Missionary School.[5] They were, however, entirely disappointed when the state educational policy was enunciated by Auckland in the Minute of 24th November, 1839.[6] There was no provision in it for any religious teaching and Duff took up his parable against the irreligious Governor-General.[7] As the secular head of a country where numerous faiths were professed and practised by their respective adherents with militant fanaticism Auckland rightly refused to introduce the religion of the ruling nation into the government institutions.

Calcutta Christ Church. In the mean time another episode had made Auckland notorious with the missionaries. In 1838 a proposal was made to erect an Episcopal Church in the vicinity of the Hindu College and Rev. K. M. Banerjea[8] was to be placed in its charge. Rightly or not, the authorities of the Hindu College scented evil in the design as it was sought to be executed without any publicity. The College authorities under the leadership of David Hare represented the matter to the Governor-General. Auckland requested the Metropolitan to intervene and to select some other site. The managers of the Hindu College gave the Church authorities a plot of land in

[3] *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1838, pp. 396 ff, 465 ff and 475.

[4] Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-31), the Eurasian poet and teacher, who lost his appointment in Hindu College on charges of propagating atheism and encouraging disobedience.

[5] *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1837, p. 146; Bryce, J.: A Sketch of the Native Education in India (Lond., 1839), pp. 23-24; Day, L. B.: Recollections of Alexandar Duff (Lond., 1879), pp. 68-69 and 71-72.

[6] This Minute has been discussed in my article in *Calcutta Review*, February, 1941.

[7] Rev. Dr. Duff's Letters to Lord Auckland on the subject of Native Education (Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1841).

[8] Krishna Mohan Banerjea (1813-85), the great scholar and missionary; the arch-rebel in the eyes of the Hindus.

Cornwallis Square and some monetary compensation.[9] The offer was accepted and the Church [10] was erected on the new site. The missionaries characterised the action of the authorities as " a positive infringement of the civil right of the subject." [11]

Idolatry and Pilgrim-Taxes. Auckland's administration " was rendered memorable by the termination of the connection Government had maintained for many years with the establishments of idolatry which was a scandal to the pious Christian and offensive to the religious Hindoo." [12] By legislation pilgrim-taxes were abolished and the management of the temple of Jagannath was handed over to the Raja of Khurda. [13] Orders were also passed forbidding government servants to attend in official capacity any religious festivals. Auckland, however, continued the practice of payment of donations to the temple at Puri, much to the disgust of the missionaries. [14] His interpretation of the Regulation IV of 1806 led him to conclude that the Company's government had pledged itself absolutely and unconditionally to this payment. This was contested and ultimately in Dalhousie's time the payment was entirely stopped.[15]

Bible and Dost Muhammad. Auckland was involved in another quarrel with the missionaries over the spiritual welfare of the royal exile in Calcutta, Dost Muhammad the deposed Amir. Some missionaries proposed to visit the Dost and present him with translations of Christian scriptures. For obvious reasons the proposal was turned down by the government.[16]

From all these it is clear that Auckland wanted to be strictly neutral in questions relating to religion and refused to indentify the state with any religion, Christian or non-Christian. *Cujus regio ejus religio* was for him an outworn shibboleth of antiquarian interest. It is interesting to observe that when young

9 *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1838, pp. 232, 476 and 705; Long : Handbook of Bengal Missions (Lond., 1848), p. 379; *Navajiban*, Bhadra, 1294 B.S. cited in the *Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, Vol. 47, p. 35 and Sanyal, R. G. : Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Some Great Men of India (Cal., 1894), pp. 9-10; and Banerjee, B. N. : *Sambad-Patre-Sekaler Katha* (1st Edn.), Vol. II, pp. 411-2.

10 Christ Church, Cornwallis Square, Calcutta.

11 *Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1838, p. 476.

12 Marshman : History of India (Serampore, 1867), Part II, p. 544.

13 Act X of 1840; the process of restoration of the management to the Raja took some years to complete.

14 *Calcutta Review*, Vol. X, 1848 under the caption ' Puri and the Temple of Jagannath,' and *Calcutta Christian Observer*, July, 1852, under that of ' The Rights of Jagannath.'

15 We intend to treat this question elaborately in a separate paper shortly.

16 *Calcutta Christian Observer*, July, 1841, p. 456.

Gladstone, 'the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories', was penning his famous treatise on Church and State,[17] the Whig Governor-General in India refused to be tempted by the call of the Cross.

The sober missionary weekly of Serampore, the *Friend of India*, paid him this tribute on the termination of his tenure: "the principle of a strict neutrality in matters of religion,—the only safe course for the Government of an empire, composed of many sects and religions—has been publicily adopted by our administration." (March 10, 1842.)

III

The Rulers And The Ruled

In the thirties of the century we are at the parting of the ways, we are in a period which marks the transition from the age of the *Nabob* to that of the *Competitionwallah*. The *Hookah* and the *Nautch* had failed to provide a permanent bridge between the conquerors and the conquered. The English education merely widened the gulf by making the English-educated youths aspirants as much for social equality as for the public offices, the higher ones of which Cornwallis had long ago shut to the Indians. A shrewd observer rightly opined in 1834 that the racial estrangement was to "be dated from the era of Lord Cornwallis's grand reforms of 1793, by which natives were excluded from all employments, except such as no Englishman would accept."[18] This caste-system in the public services had its repercussions both wide and deep. Lord William Bentinck attempted to break this caste-system by giving the natives English education and admitting them to higher ranks in the administration.[19] Bentinck's reforms, however, did not effect any permanent change in Indo-British relations.

The Shoe. Bentinck was sternly opposed by many Civilians when he attempted to effect social equality by inviting natives beyond the ranks of nobility to the Government House[20] and also by permitting them to drive in their carriages to the door of the Government

[17] The first edition of "The State in its relations with the Church" was published in 1839.

[18] Shore, F. J.: Notes on Indian Affairs (Lond., 1837), Vol. II, p. 109. See also Spear: The Nabobs (Oxford, 1932), the chapter entitled 'Racial Relations'.

[19] Boulger: Bentinck (Rulers of India Series), pp. 159-61.

[20] Shore: *Op. cit.*, p. 596 f.n.

House, thus exempting them from the humiliating practice of dismounting at the outer-gate.[21] Sir Charles Metcalfe could not support this Governor-General in his proposal of allowing the Indians to come with shoes on. "I am afraid Your Lordship is rather lax on that point. My Indian experience has taught me that any Native, who comes with his shoes on, where there is a decent covering, or where respect is due, commits what he knows to be an insult or an assumption of unmeasured superiority...you will, I hope, recollect our Resident takes off Shoes, and stands in the Dirt without them at Ava, and that if these Wukeels were allowed to appear before the Governor-General with shoes on, it would be no small thing to brag of it to their own Court."[22] The same plea of reciprocity was put forth by Hon. F. J. Shore, a distinguished Civilian, who professed to be an advocate of racial intercourse.[23] It is to be noted that the Indian princes allowed the Europeans to keep on their hats if they took off their shoes only. The Europeans, however, wore both shoes and hats in the durbars. Miss Eden, the sister of Lord Auckland, wrote from Gwalior on January 6, 1840: "In fact they do not really take them off ; they put stockings over them."[24] So the question of reciprocity raised by Metcalfe and Shore was an argument more worthy of a lawyer than a statesman, and even as that very poor. Bentinck's departure was immediately followed by government recognition of this reaction. The Metropolitan writes in his diary on April 6, 1835: "It is curious how Sir Charles Metcalfe is bringing back the old *regime*. Instead of inviting the native gentry with the Europeans, he appoints a separate audience, and, wearing their turbans, they all have to take off their shoes before they enter the room."[25] Just a year after Auckland came and removed the ban. Miss Eden's letter of March 24, 1836, portrays the situation thus: "The great shoe-question makes a great heart-burning in society. Sir C. Metcalfe never allowed the natives to come with their shoes on. There is a large class here, who say the natives are now sufficiently well informed to feel the degradation very sensibly, and who wish

[21] *Ibid.*, p., 500 f.n.
[22] Thompson : Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe (Lond., 1937), p. 296.
[23] Shore : *Op. cit.*, pp. 506-7.
[24] Eden, Emily : Up the Country, ed. Thompson (Oxford, 1930), p. 368. Thanks to the arrangements of the Archaeological Survey Department, the European tourists put on goloshes over their shoes in visiting many tombs and sacred places where shoes are strictly forbidden even now.
[25] Bateman, J. : Life of Right Rev. Daniel Wilson (Lond., 1860), Vol. II, p. 38.

the natives to adopt European manners as much as possible. George has taken up that opinion and the charm of being allowed to come before the Governor-General brought an immense concourse together —such quantities of new stiff European shoes, and many of the men seemed to find it difficult to walk in them."[26]

Auckland's statesmanship and character were truly revealed in his attitude towards the Indians, irrespective of caste or creed. His solution of the shoe-question was not a stunt to earn cheap popularity. His social virtues were never confined within the limits of European society. As a result of this, the process of racial estrangement was held in check at least during his term of office. At the time of his arrival in Calcutta the Indians were hardly admitted to the European opera performances and towards the end of his regime "at least one third of the audience were natives."[27]

Auckland's Indian Friends.—His friendship with leaders of Indian community was not conventional as is so often the case with the pro-consuls in conquered lands. Dwarkanath Tagore[28] was a frequent guest at the Barrackpore Park and also a constant attendant at the evening soirees held every Wednesday at the Government House.[29] Auckland knew that Dwarkanath was no ordinary man and within six months of his arrival he paid him back a visit at the Dum Dum Villa and "all Calcutta got greatly excited because the Governor-General was going to dine with a native."[30] It is said that Dwarkanath was consulted on almost all matters bearing on the interests of this country and that Dwarkanath suggested to Auckland the creation of the cadre of Deputy Magistrates.[31] While touring up the country in 1837-39 the Governor-General freely mixed with the native nobility and gentry and he would not permit any artificiality or stiffness to stand in the way of cultivating intimacy with the natives. At Delhi Raja Hindu Rao, the wealthy refugee from Gwalior,[32] became an integral part of the Governor-General's camp and was considered 'a native aide-de-camp.'[33] The Rao liked Auckland because 'he is a real gentleman,

[26] Eden, Emily : Letters from India (Lond., 1872), Vol. I, pp. 116-17.
[27] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp 264-65.
[28] Grandfather of the poet Rabindranath.
[29] Mitra, K. C. : Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore (Cal., 1870), p. 68.
[30] Letters from India, Vol. I, pp. 215-16.
[31] Mitra : *Op. Cit.*, pp. 64-66.
[32] His claims to the throne of Gwalior were not admitted; he died in 1855; his house on the Ridge was the citadel of the British army in Delhi during the Mutiny.
[33] Up the Country, p. 250.

as well as a Governor-General.'[34] The Civilians, however, must have liked that he were a real Governor-General and not a real gentleman. Even J. R. Colvin[35] and H. W. Torrens,[36] the two distinguished Civilians, who fully enjoyed the confidence of Auckland and who accompanied him in his tour up the country failed to convert him to their sense of decorum and dignity. While meeting a petty hill chief Jain in the neighbourhood of Simla, Colvin and Torrens charged him 'on no account to sit down as the Rajah was not of sufficient rank to receive a visit from the Governor-General,' and in spite of all the warnings and objurgations from these two secretaries he ultimately sank down on the side of the Rajah and told Miss Eden to sit on the other.[37] In another connection [38] it has been related how Auckland supported and patronised in India and later on in England an alumnus of his Barrackpore School.[39]

Dost Muhammad in Exile —The treatment which Auckland meted out to Dost Muhammad, the deposed Amir, also speaks highly of his character and wisdom. While in Calcutta, the royal exile was invited to the entertainment in the Government House on the occasion of the Queen's birthday in 1841. The Metropolitan gravely records in his journal: "Dost Mahommed sat on the same sofa with Miss Eden."[40] The Dost later on recalled with pleasure the episode of "Qaid-i-Frang" or English prison.[41]

Indian Servants.—It is also evident from the letters of Miss Eden that no differential treatment was meted out to the native servants of the Governor-General's household. On the termination of the upward journey in northern India the Lord Sahib held a sort of durbar in the Simla hills and distributed as rewards shawls and matchlocks to the Subahdars and other native officers who formed the escort.[42] In the tour in northern India when halts used to be made on Sundays, the

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 263.
[35] John Russell Colvin (1807-57), Private Secretary to Lord Auckland (1836-42); is said to have considerably influenced the latter's Afghan policy; Lt.-Governor of the N.W.P. 1853-57.
[36] Henry Whitelock Torrens (1806-52), accompanied Lord Auckland to the N.W. P. as Deputy Secretary; is accused of ill advising the Governor-General *re* Afghan affairs; linguist and orientalist.
[37] Up the Country, pp. 243-44.
[38] *Calcutta Review*, February, 1941.
[39] The school run by Auckland.
[40] Bateman : *Op Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 188-89.
[41] Mohan Lal : Life of Dost Mohammad Khan (Lond., 1846), Vol. II, pp. 491-98.
[42] Up the Country, pp. 122-23.

Governor-General once permitted a respite on Bakrid at the cost of the Sunday.[43] Hindu sentiments were also honoured and respected.[44]

Employment of Indians.—Auckland knew fully well that social equality unless accompanied by political privileges would be fruitless. He zealously continued Bentinck's scheme of entrusting the Indians with positions of trust and responsibility. The cadre of Deputy Collectors was filled with youths of respectability and education. One such was Ramaprasad Ray, the son of Raja Rammohan Ray. In 1842 Ramaprasad was in charge of the Hooghly district, "the first instance, probably, of a native Deputy Collector being in such charge."[45] The cadre of Deputy Magistrates was also first suggested during his rule.[46] The suggested reform was, however, effected during the governor-generalship of Lord Ellenborough.[47]

The sentiments of the Indian community were fully expressed in the following paragraph of the cumbrously worded farewell address[48] to Auckland on 28th February, 1842: "If strict impartiality in a country where the many differences of creed and race, multiply at the same time the difficulty and value of that rare virtue; if six years of incessant exertion for every object which you have conceived to be conducive to the happiness, and the improvement of the people of British India, form a just title to their gratitude; *that title is yours.*"

43 *Ibid.*, p. 109.
44 *Ibid.*, pp. 244 and 272-74.
45 Toynbee, G: A Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District, 1795-1845. (Cal. 1888), p. 66.
46 Mitra, K. C.: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 64-66; Report of the Committee formed by Lord Auckland in 1838, to investigate the state of Bengal Police.
47 Act XV of 1843.
48 It "requires to be read three times before it can be understood." *Friend of India*, March 3, 1842.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR *

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L..A

THIS very readable book not only gives information not generally known to the public on the life and activities of the President of the Indian National Congress but also throws a flood of light on those elements in his religious, intellectual and political make-up which have placed him in the unique position he occupies to-day in the public life of India. Written in simple straightforward Anglo-Saxon, which always characterises the literary productions of Shree Mahadev Desai and which the present writer ascribes to the clearness of his ideas as well as to his intimate association with Mahatma Gandhi whose style has wrung praises from meticulous scholars and writers of English, the book does not contain a single dull page.

One of the friends of the present writer with whom he was talking some time ago seemed to hold the opinion that the motive which has impelled the author to write this book was to introduce his hero to the public of the West already familiar with the life and work of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal. One reason for the popularity of these two great leaders there is that they have written autobiographies which possess an entrancing interest on account of the very frank way in which they have expressed themselves. Something of the same service has been done here for the Maulana by Shree Mahadev who has reported the substance of various intimate talks he has had with him and has also enriched his book with extracts from Urdu speeches, statements, etc., issued by him from time to time and which are not available to those who do not understand this language. It is therefore evident that this volume will be helpful not only to non-Indian but also to a very large majority of Indian readers.

The first four chapters give an account of the rich heritage to which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was born and the way in which he

*Shree Mahadev Desai is the author of a book with the above title. Mahatma Gandhi has contributed a Foreword and Mr. Horace G. Alexander, M.A., of Selly Oak, Bermingham, England, a Preface. It is published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Price 3/6d.

developed his inborn powers. There is next a quick transition to the social, economic and political education the Maulana sought to impart to his brothers in faith by starting his deservedly known "Al Hilal." Uncompromising in his views and outspoken in given utterance to them, the Maulana was interned but his activities did not in any way suffer from this cause.

The chapters which will probably have the greatest appeal for the reader are those headed "A Declaration of Faith," "Views on Religion" and "Another Campaign." A large part of the first of these consists of an English translation of the statement made by the Maulana in that polished Urdu of which he is such a great master when he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for the prominent part he had taken in the non-co-operation movement when Congress declared a boycott of all functions arranged to give a reception to the Prince of Wales and Government in that connection declared Congress volunteers to be illegal. This statement lays down clearly and in the most eloquent of terms those eternal and immutable principles on which freedom has based itself everywhere and at all times. Part of it quoted below has a significance all its own even to-day, two decades after the ideas found expression from the eloquent pen of the Maulana:

"It is my belief that liberty is the natural and God-given right of man. No man and no bureaucracy consisting of men has got the right to make the servants of God its own slaves. However attractive be the euphemisms invented for 'subjugation' and 'slavery' still slavery is slavery, and it is opposed to the will and the canons of God. I therefore consider it a bounden duty to liberate my country from its yoke. The notorious fallacies of 'reform' and 'gradual transference of power' can produce no illusions and pitfalls in my unequivocal and definite faith. Liberty being the primary right of men, it is nobody's personal privilege to prescribe limits or apportion shares in the distribution of it. To say that a nation should get its liberty in graduated stages is the same as saying that an owner should by right receive his property only in bits and a creditor his dues by instalments...Whatever philanthropic acts might be performed by a man who has usurped our property, his usurpation would still continue to be utterly illegal.

"Evil cannot be classified into good and bad. All that is in fairness possible is to differentiate the varying degree. For instance, we can say very heinous robbery and less heinous robbery, but who can speak of good robbery and bad robbery? I cannot, therefore, at all

conceive of any justification for such domination because by its very nature it is an act of iniquity."

The chapter headed "Views on Religion" contains a number of very significant quotations from the Maulana's exposition of the basic principles of Islam which make most refreshing reading against the existing back-ground of atheism, religious indifference or fanatical orthodoxy. Any one who has made even a cursory study of the Gospel of St. John as interpreted by the father of the Most Reverend Dr. Foss Wescott, the Metropolitan of India, will be surprised to find a remarkable similarity between the views of divines separated by differences of race, culture and religion which proves beyond any dispute the fundamental unity of religion whatever the forms under which it manifests itself in different ages and different countries.

Commenting on certain verses quoted from the Quran, the Maulana says:

"The Quran also says that God created all men as human beings but they adopted varying names and labels and broke the unity of mankind to pieces. As you were born of various stocks, you bore different names and were divided from one another. You were born in different countries, and therefore people of one country are fighting those of another. You belong to different races, and therefore you war with one another. You were born with different colours, and so there have been colour-wars springing from mutual hate. Language again became one more cause of division. There are countless other divisions—rich and poor, master and servant, high-born and low-born, strong and weak, and so on. All these divisions cannot but make for discord and strife. What then is the silken string that can thread these scattered beads and make of divided mankind one united brotherhood? That silken string, that sacred link, is the Worship of One God. How-much-so-over divided you may be, you cannot have different Gods. You are the servants of One Lord, and your prayers and worship are before the One Sacred Throne. No matter what your race, tribe or country, the moment you surrender yourselves to one Father, He will put an end to all your earthly quarrels and unite your hearts together. You will then realize that the world is your country and mankind is one family and you are children of the same father."

The Quran says:

"To each among you (*i.e.*, for the follower of every religion) I have prescribed a particular law and a way. If God had so willed

He would have made you alike (*i.e.*, there would have been no difference of ritual or ceremonial). But He made you different to test you in (the observance of) the commands He has given you: So strive, as in a race, in virtuous conduct (not in emphasizing these differences) (5.48). When the Quran was given, the followers of various religions were engaged in emphasizing the external forms of religion and mistaking them for the essence of religion. Everyone thought that the adherents of religions other than his had no salvation before him, for their ceremonials and rituals were not the same as his own. The Quran declares that this is a denial of religion. The essence of religion is the Worship of One God and Right Conduct. This cannot be the exclusive patrimony of an individual or a people. ...Ceremonials and rituals will vary and will continue to vary with the age and the country. ...The text goes further and says that God in His omniscience deliberately created this diversity. The text declares that different rules and ways were prescribed for different people ; it does not say that different religions were prescribed for different people. For Religion for all is one ; there cannot be more than one or different religions. The Quran declares that human nature is so constituted that these outward forms will differ, and everyone thinks that his way is superior to that of others, he cannot look at his own way from the point of view of his opponents. But even as your way is excellent in your own eye, even so in other people's eyes their way is excellent. Toleration, therefore, is the only way."

When one casts his eyes abroad and sees the many crimes, the injustices and the mischiefs committed in our motherland under the plea of religion, and here all religious groups are equally guilty though it has been our habit to concentrate our attack on one particular community, perhaps because it is more vocal and militant than others, it must seem to the Indian patriot that the only way left open for the restoration of peace and amity is for the leaders of every community to place before their brothers and sisters in faith, the basic facts of their religion and to drive home into their heart by precept and example that God is not served by hating or injuring his children who may happen to profess a different faith.

The reviewer very often feels that emphasising the identity of economic interests alone as a means of abolishing communalism is not sufficient. It has to be reinforced by an appeal to the spiritual

instincts of man. It is probable that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the first among the famous Muslim divines to adopt this method for his own community in just the same way that Mahatma Gandhi has been doing the same service for the Hindu community. Shree Mahadev Desai has rendered a very valuable service to the cause of communal harmony at least so far as the intellectuals, the natural leaders of the masses, are concerned by making these statements easily available to them.

One naturally expects that a man who is capable of entertaining such lofty sentiments and of giving them expression in such eloquent terms would exert himself to do something practical to give effect to them. Nor is there any disappointment in store for the reader so far as this matter is concerned.

When during the non-co-operation movement, the Khilafat grievances were included among those for which redress was sought and when there was Hindu-Muslim unity, the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi to our Muslim brethren to respect the prejudices of our Hindu brethren went straight home. The present writer who was keeping himself in touch with the movement through newspapers in various parts of India was surprised to find that many leaders among our Mussalman brethren not only refrained from cow-slaughter during Id and the consumption of beef but also exhorted their less educated co religionists to follow the example they were setting.

But the time came when this fellow-feeling disappeared and was replaced by misunderstandings which, fanned by selfish men, manifested themselves in bloody riots. By that time, Gandhiji had been released from imprisonment by the British administration mainly on account of health reasons and what he heard and saw broke his heart. He imposed on himself a fast of twenty-one days. We have, among others, an eloquent account of this event from the pen of Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews from which we learn what a shudder of anxiety passed through the whole country when it came to learn the decision of Mahatma Gandhi. Details of what followed are so widely known that it does not seem necessary to repeat them. But what is not so well known is the part played by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in bringing about an understanding between the contending parties. Shree Mahadev has quoted the words of a Hindu leader which are given below :

"The appeal which he (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad) made to both communities was the turning point of the discussion. He asked his co-religionists to remember that cow-slaughter even for purposes of sacrifice was not a fundamental part of their religion, and he assured his Hindu friends that there were not a few Mussalman leaders who had not only never tasted beef themselves, but were endeavouring to reduce the use of it among Mussalmans, if only to show their spirit of brotherliness with the Hindus."

Shree Mahadev then goes on to describe how the problem was ultimately solved:

"That moved the Mussalmans, but they were not prepared to accept the final clause. It seemed to be a matter of touch and go. The President adjourned the meeting and appealed both to the Hindus and Muslims to hold consultations again and make up their minds as to what was possible. The prospect appeared gloomy for a time, until at last the Maulana's appeal touched a responsive chord in Pandit Malaviyaji's heart. He got up and in a tense atmosphere announced that the Hindus did not mind the words about complete stoppage of cow-slaughter being deleted. The whole conference was for the first time swept by a wave of enthusiasm and made the rest of the work absolutely easy. The earlier drafts of resolutions had taken largely the form of rights; now a realisation came that there were no rights without responsibilities, and that the solution of the trouble lay in each being ready to fulfil one's obligations rather than to assert one's rights."

The lesson taught by the Maulana in those days that rights carry responsibilities along with them has been forgotten to-day. We shall have to learn it again before we can expect peace and amity in our motherland. It seems a great pity that we should not have thousands of leaders of every community all through India ceaselessly preaching communal amity on the basis of accommodating one another and it is here that the constructive programme of the Congress comes in but that is another story.

Shree Mahadev has proved that with all his learning and scholarship, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is intensely practical. This rare combination of qualities is probably responsible for the position he occupies in what even the most uncharitable of critics must admit as our largest, most influential, non-communal organisation the doors of which are wide open to admit members of every religious, social

and economic group. The reader should be thankful to Shree Mahadev for the exceedingly lucid way in which he has explained this great qualification of the President of the Indian National Congress.

The first instance of the Maulana's grasp of practical affairs which should be mentioned is that when there was difference of opinion as regards Council-entry after the stoppage of the non-co-operation movement, one section of the Congress under the leadership of Sri C. Rajagopalacharia, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Babu Rajendra Prasad were in favour of concentrating on the four-fold boycott and another led by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das and Vithalbhai Patel felt that Congress should seek election, capture as many seats as possible and demonstrate the unsatisfactory nature, if not the hollowness, of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad after his release from imprisonment weighed the pros and cons dispassionately and then he issued a statement the central idea of which may be summed up in two sentences quoted from it here. He said that " no political programme could be held as sacrosanct. It had to be judged on its own merits." Taking a realistic view of the situation as a whole, his conclusion was that the work of the country would suffer so long as these two parties, both consisting of Congressmen, continued to fight and quarrel among themselves. Enjoying the love and respect of both, he threw himself into the task of bringing about some kind of understanding between them so that they might not stultify one another's efforts

Shree Mahadev tells us that to this end, he undertook long and exhausting tours for consultations and discussions with different leaders, another proof of the Maulana's practical patriotism and his concern for the welfare of our country. His exertions bore fruit in the special session of the Congress which met at Delhi in September, 1923, of which he was elected President. In his address, he recommended a compromise which found universal acceptance. Under it, absolute freedom was left to each and every one to serve the country in his own way—by Council entry or by carrying out the constructive programme recommended by Gandhiji. Shree Mahadev who probably knows as much about the inner working of the Congress as any one else tells us why this compromise formula had been suggested by the Maulana in the latter's own words:

" I knew that the Council-entry programme would not carry us very far but I had my eye on the future. Since the Parliamentary

mentality had taken hold of a considerable and influential section of Congressmen and Congress leaders, I felt that in the absence of any programme of direct action, the Parliamentary programme might serve a useful purpose."

Still another instance of the realistic way in which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad faces problems and solves them is referred to by the author towards the end of his book. The episode is too long to be given in any detail. In brief, it is concerned with inducing the zemindars of Bihar to materially reduce the rents they were charging from their tenants. The account given by Shree Mahadev is an engrossing one. We are informed that it was the persuasive eloquence of the Maulana, the infinite patience and the unfailing courtesy of Babu Rajendra Prasad which induced the landlords as a class to reduce the rents by about 25 per cent. on the average though, in some cases, these reductions ranged between 40 and 50 per cent.

Then again, the Maulana acted as a peace-maker when the Congress ministry of Bihar contemplated the imposition of an agricultural income tax on landlords. Here too, he discussed the whole problem with them and induced them to come to some sort of understanding with Government which, in its turn, based legislation on it and thus very important laws were passed with little, if any, friction.

It is with a sense of regret that one comes to the last page of such a singularly fascinating book which gives a vivid account of events which have an important bearing on the history and evolution of nationalism in India and which happened such a short time ago. Biographies there are which present the hero amid his daily surroundings and the reader is told about his preferences in the matter of food, clothing, accommodation, and so forth. But these merely give us a picture of the outward man. In Shree Mahadev's biography, we are given an opportunity of entering into the Maulana's inner sanctum. We get a picture of the man as he is, his religious beliefs, his outlook on the very interesting and important political problems of our motherland and his deep and abiding patriotism which has kept him in the service of our motherland in adversity and prosperity and, most of all, which has enabled him to meet with unflinching courage uncharitable criticism and even downright obloquy. One feels as one goes through the book that India need not despair so long as she has, as her children, men of the type of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The services he has already rendered to us and which we

are certain he will continue to render so long as the breath of life is in him rightly entitle him to be called as he has actually been called by Shree Mahadev " The First Servant of the Nation."

As for the work itself, one may characterise it in one sentence by saying that it is great work well done.

If one may offer a suggestion to Shree Mahadev, it is that he should, if he can spare the time, write similar memoirs of the other great leaders of the national movement for it is certain that he is the possessor of not only a larger amount but more intimate knowledge about them than a majority of Congressmen.

The present writer recommends the perusal of this book to every one interested in the remarkable personality of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and in the part he has played and is still playing in the Congress.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS *

SAROJ KUMAR DAS, M.A., P.R.S., PH.D.

The volume under review is a remarkable production, reflecting no small credit alike on the author who has projected it, the University that has published it, and the cause that is promoted hereby. In the execution of his task the author, as he frankly confesses in the *Preface*, has spared ' neither labour nor thought ' in order to justify ' the confidence of the University of Calcutta in its conscious ' departure from the tradition established in the past,' and in its very first ' experiment of trying Indians for this work.' One who has carefully gone through this volume will have no hesitation in testifying that the author has evidently risen to the height of this academic trust and amply vindicated the wisdom of the experiment in this regard. It is with befitting grace and gratitude that he refers to the paternal and preceptorial influence—not to speak of the social or environmental factor during his *Lehrerjahre* as well as *Meisterjahre*—brought to bear upon his standpoint of ' personal orthodoxy with broad sympathy for other modes of belief.' To say the least of it such a view-point proceeds from the definiteness of a position, and not from a mere pose of latitudinarianism.

With regard to his *modus operandi* it is re-assuring to note that if he has ' occasionally criticised any religion, it is not to hurt the feelings but to quicken the thoughts of its followers'—the criticisms proceeding ' from a genuine conviction that all the living religions possess good points ' but ' that none is perfect ' and ' that all are capable of development in diverse degrees and directions.' In strict keeping with this conviction of his, he has had ' to criticise more than once the doctrine of Final Revelation which, in spite of its value for social solidarity, is a serious obstacle to the development of individual faith and communal toleration.' Although it appears in this context to be an advance labelling of his faith, it is instructive as a keynote to learn that he does not subscribe ' to the view that religion as a distinctive attitude towards life and reality is ultimately destined to pass away with the growth of education and the development of industry.' It is a particularly welcome feature of the study that it does not fall an easy victim to the seductive coils of religious nihilism or indifferentism, to which students of Comparative Religion are too prone to succumb. This reminds me of the suggestive moral preached by a devoted student of Comparative Religion in course of a meeting, under the auspices of the ' Fellowship of Faiths ' movement, at the Holborn Church in London (which, to the best of my recollection, I attended sometime in the summer term of 1928), when he made in course of his lecture, a telling remark in so many words: " The study of Comparative Religion has left me comparatively religious!" This is a veridical testimony—as much a statement of fact as one of valuation. Committing itself, as it invariably does, to a search after the lowest common multiple of religions, a comparative study of religions goes on watering down

* The Foundations of Living Faith, An Introduction to Comparative Religion (Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectures for 1933), by Professor Haridas Bhattacharyya, Vol. I (published by the Calcutta University), pp. 526 + xiii.

the meaning and significance, the value and validity of the historic faiths till at last it arrives at a dilute religion which is indistinguishable from religious neutralism or indifferentism. Comparative Study of Religions, or Comparative Religion, for that matter, starts on its career with the laudable ambition of discovering the greatest common measure of agreement among the religions as the surest foundation for religious concord and harmony, which alone can stem the tide of religious bigotry and intolerance; but the way in which such study reacts upon religion or religious faith and loyalty is far from desirable. In escaping the devil of religious intolerance, it too often falls into the deep sea of religious indifference. Let such study be always on the alert that it stands on an inclined plane. It is heartening to find that our author has not, in deference to the siren call of ' peace or unity at any price' pursued the cheap and easy downward track of Comparative Religion.

Now, it is incumbent on the present reviewer to offer an apology for the deferred review of a book that was published in 1938. It was delayed so long because the reviewer had been hoping against hope that the second volume, following readily in the wake of the first, would enable the reviewer to accomplish his task with adequate justice to himself and to the author—in the shape of a fair and accurate assessment of the worth of the first volume by punctuating all his observations with forward reference to his summing up in the concluding reflection of the second volume. Herein he has been all along backed by the author's own hope " that the second volume will take less time to see the light of day." But as our hopes may sometimes prove to be liars, it is the wiser course to embark on our excursion without remaining any further the dupes of a to-morrow.

As a result of his survey of the ' Living Faiths,' our author makes the foundational discovery ' that there are certain fundamental beliefs without which no religion can satisfy the spiritual needs of man, and of these needs a right understanding of the nature of God and His working and a right attitude towards the world of sentient beings are the most insistent.' As vehicles for transmission of those powers and perfections which proclaim ' the triumph of the spiritual over the material,' the ' Prophets ' then naturally come in for a legitimate share of attention from the author who is definitely of the opinion that " the sway that the prophets have held on men's minds is due to the fact that their messages were regarded as coming from God and they spoke with an authority not their own." Having discussed the function of the Prophets in the making of the positive religions, he next proceeds to tackle the problem of ' the Revelations ' with which the former is logically intertwined. After a searching analysis of the historical Revelations, he furnishes what may be called a negative justification for the use and importance of Revelation in this context, when he concludes " that no religion can be wholly rationalised although the best ones are the most rational," but " once revealed through a religious genius, the truths of theism are seen to be reasonable ; but the prophet himself did not reach them by articulated thinking, and the philosopher who dissects the prophet's revelations and discovers their antecedents would never have arrived at them without the prophet's aid." Commenting next on the ' Gods of Vedic Hinduism,' he observes that " simultaneously with the Aryanisation of the land, there went on an imperceptible absorption of indigenous culture and this led to a shifting of emphasis to such Vedic gods as could be assimilated to objects of local worship." With the steady abandonment of Vedic polytheism, the popular mind, " while it reconciled itself gradually

to the loss of most of the Vedic rituals, refused to abandon the gods, with the effect that monotheism in some form or other reared its head." Thus arose the Gods of *Puranic* Hinduism. In course of his discussion of "the post-Pauranic religious history of India," our author has been betrayed into a lapse—probably following the misdirection of Dr. Farquhar—in sponsoring the view that 'Keshab Chandra Sen apparently got his concept of God as Mother from association with Rāmkṛṣna Paramahaṃsa' (p. 247 fn.). The very wind out of the sails of this theory was taken away by the publication in 1931 of Mr. G. C. Bannerji's 'Keshabchandra and Ramkrishna' in which the theory was disproved with an abundance of historically accredited facts which none can gainsay. The same refutation has been substantially confirmed recently by that excellent monograph on Keshab Chandra Sen, which emerged in 1938 from the judicial mind of no less a legal luminary than Dr. P. K. Sen of Patna. 'God in Judaism' is the theme of the following chapter in which he does well to stress the point that "the Hebrew Religion with its well-developed conception of a tribal or national God required development on the aspect of social duty and intercommunal sympathy, while Buddhism with its elaborate ethical code required the complementary development on the aspect of religious devotion." The theme has been presented here with such a wealth of documentary evidence as would scare away even the most intrepid reviewer of his book. 'God in Christianity' is the subject-matter of the next or seventh chapter which rightly begins its task with a distinction between "the religion of Christ and the Christian religion—the *history* of Jesus and the *myth* of Christ." We are at one with him in his finding that "Christ was a saviour-god but was also at the same time an ethical personality, and the religion that he preached was the well-known religion of the Jews which emphasised the holy character of God. The difficulty arose when the Apostles and their followers began to invest Christ with a divine character; for it was then that speculations began about the exact nature and significance of the advent of Jesus." The next chapter representing 'God in Islam' opens with an accurate reading of the situation summed up in the observation that "Muhammad's chief merit lies in his uncompromising monotheism which is perhaps partially due to the fear that any concession on that head would lead to polytheism—a form of belief which he detested." And this "hostility of Muhammad to all sorts of polytheism made him disown not only his country's gods but also the Christian trinity and go back to the awful majesty of the Jewish unitary God"—so much so that "in Islam zealous orthodoxy lost no time in denouncing [this] pantheistic attitude of Sūfī writers and in asserting that Allāh's transcendence could not be questioned and man could not be raised to divine honours or identified with or related to God." The ninth and the penultimate chapter discoursing on 'God in Gāthic Zoroastrianism' makes the instructive observation "that while Zarathustra thought that the best antidote against the cruel cult of sacrifice was a radical alteration in the conception of God and of the nature of worship, Buddha and Mahavīra considered it essential to obviate the necessity of God altogether. The effect was that while in Zoroastrianism the law of moral order remained subordinate to God, in Buddhism and Jainism the law of Karma practically usurped the place of God, and that while in the former devotion had an assured place, in the latter systems morality and meditation were originally deemed sufficient for salvation." The tenth and the last chapter deals with God as presented in Post-Gāthic Zoroastrianism. "The later history of Zoroastrianism," as he remarks here, "shows that the purity of the Iranian Prophet's reform was less

lasting than that of the Prophet of Arabia," probably because "the Prophetic reform had overshot its mark—the people at large were not yet ready for the disappearance of so many age-long beliefs and practices."

Such is the rough outline representing the study in its broader effects. It is undoubtedly, if we may re-affirm our original impression here, a creditable performance, destined to serve as a land-mark to those in the field who are, by training and temperament, ranged on the side of an empiric approach to the problem. It is surprising to find how the author wrestles with such massive details, and that with the consummate ability of an adept in the line. Pre-occupation with a baffling mass of empirical evidences on the part of an average thinker, like the drawing of the bow of Ulysses by any lesser hand, usually ends in a disaster. But our author, be it said to his credit, is never caught napping in his task, nor does he ever lose sight of the wood for the trees.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

Stone Inscription of Gupta Period

Mr. S. A. Shere, Curator, Patna Museum, announces that a perfect specimen of a stone inscription belonging to the later Guptas has been donated to the Patna Museum by Choudhuri Brijmohan Roy, Rais and Zamindar of Mangraon, at the instance of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, I.C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer of Buxar. It was in the possession of the donor's family for some generations and his public-spirited generosity is all the more commendable in making it available to posterity by placing it in the Museum of his province.

The inscription is dated in the 17th regnal year of Maharajadhiraja Vishnugupta. This Vishnugupta was a king of Magadha, about 700 A.D. Two of his gold coins are in the Calcutta Museum to which reference has been made by Vincent Smith in the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 121. There was another gold coin of the same king in the Patna Museum, but it was stolen in 1939. So far no independent record referring to the reign of Vishnugupta has been found. He is mentioned in the Deo Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II, Deo Baranark being a village about twenty-five miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad District. There he is mentioned as the son of Devagupta and father of Jivitadeva II, all three being designated Maharajadhiraja (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, No. 46, pp. 217-18). The present record is the first inscription of the king himself in a perfect state of preservation and the letters exquisitely chiselled.

The contents of the inscription describe a time-honoured pious practice in India—the gift of a pala of oil purchased from kinsfolk and dedicated for the lamp of a deity—here Subhadresvaradeva—by a pious villager, duly attested, with the devout hope that " none will it gainsay."

The Managing Committee, Patna Museum, has arranged to exhibit it in a way commensurate with its importance.

Patna University

Prof. Dr. Krishnan of the Calcutta University delivered his series of Sukhraj Rai Readership lectures of the Patna University at the premises of the Science College under the presidentship of Principal Kamta Prasad of the said college.

The subject-matter of the lecture was " Electron Theory of Metals and interesting results in the case of Graphite."

Dr. Krishnan said that metal can be treated approximately as a home for electrons which migrate with tremendous velocity throughout the whole metal. The electrons do not behave like particles but behave like waves. These ideas are very helpful in explaining the thermal electric and magnetic properties of metals. It has been possible with the help of these electrons to explain why wood is a non-conductor of electricity while gold and silver are good conductors thereof.

Dr. Krishnan further said that graphite which is a crystalline form of carbon has got very interesting metallic properties.

In the end he said that these theories have been very helpful to the experimental metallurgists as well.

Evacué Students from Rangoon

The authorities of the Jagannath Intermediate College, Dacca have made special arrangement for tuition, and coaching of evacué students of Rangoon University. Already two such evacué students from Rangoon have been admitted to the College, without admission fee and other extra charges.

Indian Languages in European Schools

The 33rd meeting of the Provincial Board of Anglo-Indian and European Education, Bengal, was held recently. In the absence of the Minister for Education, Mr. J. M. Bottomley, Director of Public Instruction, presided.

In addition to making recommendations in regard to the Budget for European and Anglo-Indian Education for 1942-43, the Board also made recommendations in connexion with certain building schemes, the control of corporal punishment, the registration of Anglo-Indian graduates with the Appointments and Information Board of the Calcutta University, and the teaching of Indian languages. With regard to Indian languages the Board came to the conclusion that teaching of them should be compulsory from Standard III upwards, that the compulsion should be real and that the teaching should be inspected periodically by a competent yet sympathetic inspector. They did not favour the use of Roman script in lieu of Indian scripts, and expressed the opinion that the teaching should be oral for the first year or two.

A Committee was elected to meet the Employment Adviser to the Government to discuss with him the compilation of a pamphlet on avenues of employment for Anglo-Indians, and the Secretary was asked to draw up a scheme (with estimates as to cost) for an Employment Advisory Board for Anglo-Indians.

At the close of the meeting problems relating to air-raid precautions (including evacuation) were discussed in so far as they concerned European and Anglo-Indian schools.

The next meeting of the Board will be held on April 20.

Indian Cave Paintings : New York Exhibition

A distinguished group of scholars and numerous American artists were among the 200 guests at a private view of replicas of Indian cave paintings by the Armenian artist, Sarkis Katchacourian, at the American-British Art Centre in New York, arranged by Dr. Arthur Pope of the Iranian Institute.

Dr. Pope said that he considered them " the most perfect replicas in the world." The paintings were on view till the middle of February when they proposed to begin a tour of a number of museums in the Central and Western States which will last at least a year.

Sponsors of the exhibition include Lord and Lady Halifax, the Governor of New York State, Mr. Lehman, Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, Sir Gerald Campbell, Sir Shanmukham Chetty, Sardar Malik and Dr. Coomaraswamy.

Miscellany

AUTARCHY IN FRENCH ECONOMICS

A contribution to the problem of economic autarchy is Henri Truchy's *Echanges internationaux et autarcie* (International Exchanges and Autarchy, Paris, 1940). In Truchy's analysis pure autarchy is a phenomenon that can be produced without economic value but can generate the spirit of conquest. In the absolute sense of the word, it is only to the state that is the master of the entire world that autarchy can be accessible. More or less the same idea of autarchy is presented in André Platier's *L'Economie de la Guerre* (The Economy of War, Paris, 1939). He defines autarchy as the permanent form of the economy of war which together with economic nationalism prepares wars psychologically rather than economically.

In the paper on *Le Controle des Changes* (The Control of Exchange) read at the *Société d'Economie Politique* of Paris (6th May, 1940) Frederic Jenny likewise connects autarchy with the " inevitable preparation of the way to war."[1] This autarchy is engendered in normal times, says he, by the control of exchanges.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

EXCHANGE CONTROL

In the above lecture Jenny observes that the export of capital does not take place in the form of material exportation of money but the exchange of money for foreign monies. During war times the demand for foreign monies might increase excessively leading cumulatively to the fall, *i.e.*, depreciation, of the national currency. And this might compel the state to issue more currency leading thereby to inflation. It is just to combat a situation like this that in war times all governments have recourse to the control and restriction of foreign exchange. While in normal times the control of currency is according to this economist of "liberal school" the most undesirable thing, in war conditions it is declared by him to be a necessity for the belligerents.

The theory of exchange control as discussed at the *Société d'Economie Politique* is definitely a theory of the gold standard. As E. Clavery points out, Jenny has offered " a vigorous refutation of the sophism that has become prevalent during the last twenty years." In this analysis the strength or hierarchy of the currencies of diverse categories—hard and soft of different degrees—is established on nothing but the greater or smaller proportion of gold-cover. In France, as in the British Empire, the gold standard continues to be the basis of control legislation in regard to exchange. The principles of exchange control were not well-understood and adequately practised during World War I (1914-18). During the present war the world has started with it as the foundation of war-finance.

[1] *Annales de la Société d'Economie Politique* (Paris, April-May, 1940).

The application of this theory in Indian conditions may be seen in the chapter on "exchange control" in the *Report on Currency and Finance for the Year 1940-41*. "The exchange control regulations issued by the Reserve Bank at the outbreak of war (September, 1939) were on the lines of those enforced in the United Kingdom and were mainly directed to conserving foreign exchange by limiting remittances except for essential purposes."

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Antonio Graziadei's *La Crisi del Capitalismo e le Variazioni del Profitto* (The Crisis of Capitalism and the Variation of Profit, Milan, 1941) is a work of substantial importance. Graziadei, the Italian economist of capital, value and prices, examines the so-called law according to which the rate of profits tends to decline in all sectors of enterprise. In his analysis no such law of a universal character, as maintained by both Ricardo and Marx, can be demonstrated to exist. Under conditions of cartellization and trustification such as may generate monopolies the rate of profit may increase quite sensibly. Even under monopolies, again, the rate of profit rise during booms and fall during depressions. According to Ricardo a "general" crisis affecting all the branches of economy is impossible. But Graziadei maintains that the depression of 1929-32 has demonstrated the opposite thesis established by Marx to be correct.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

NEO-SOCIALISM IN FINANCE

One of the recent economic publications of continental Europe is Ernesto d'Albergo's *La Politica finanziaria de grandi stati dal dopoguerra ad oggi* (Milan, 1939). In this Italian work on the financial "Policy of the Great Powers from the End of the War to the Present Time," d'Albergo examines the influence of the political and economic ideologies of the two decades (1919-39) on the public finance of Italy, Germany, the U.S., England and France. The first important phase is that of the adaptation of peace economy to the financial consequences of the war. A noteworthy financial fact of the period is the steady rise of Italy to the rank of a great power, even in economic fields, although she is poor in resources. In regard to the world-economic crisis (1929-32) state-intervention is noted as a universal fact, but it is exhibited in its diversities corresponding to the respective socio-political ideologies. The development of the war-potential in every country through state auspices is the third great phenomenon of the period. Public finance has been striving to serve the states in the matter of reaching the historic goal which vitality of the peoples is bent on realizing.

Altogether, the financial policy of the two decades may be characterized as that of neo-socialism and neo-democracy, or of its obverse, namely, neo-capitalism and neo-despotocracy.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

WORLD-ECONOMY IN ITALIAN THOUGHT

In October, 1940, Alberto de Stefani had a paper on "*Prospettiva di Collaborazione Economica*" in the *Rivista Italiana di Scienze Economiche* (Rome). An economic collaboration between Italy and Germany has already been functioning, inspite of the difficulties created by the war condition, says he. Germany and Italy have established reciprocal integration of their requirements in regard to those sectors in which the internal production is deficient.

But there are two practical difficulties implicit in the situation, says Stefani. First, the elasticity of the economies of the two countries not only in regard to the entire complex and categories of production but also in regard to single products. The goods that are being produced at present in modest proportions in each country may in course of time grow into important commodities on account of scientific discoveries and technical inventions. Secondly, the Italian-German collaboration cannot isolate all relations external to the Italian-German economic space. This implies that a certain external economic space is to be reserved to Germany and a certain others pace to Italy. A new inter-continental economic order should thus require to be definitely planned.

There are other considerations. The self-sufficiency of each of the collaborating countries in regard to the necessaries of life and the requirements of independence cannot be overlooked. Then there is the problem of employment of labour in each country as well as the investment of capital. The existence of *molti di questi organismi economici supernazionali* (many international economic organisms) which function beyond the political boundaries of all countries as well as the limits of the economic space that may be reserved to Germany and Italy is a reality that cannot be ignored in an *a priori* manner. In case powerful supernational banking and industrial establishments be permitted to function in perfect autonomy, it would contradict the theory and practice of the contemplated "new economic order," which, indeed, is likely to be conquered, vanquished and depressed under their weight.

An equivocal or vague attitude in regard to these world-economic institutions is associated with dangers, because the "capitalistic and plutocratic hydra has more than seven heads." The investments of foreign countries in Germany and Italy constitute the problem to be envisaged in this connection.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

RACIAL FLEXIBILITIES

Liberal anthropology has got a great fillip in G. M. Morant's *The Races of Central Europe* (London, 1939). The cephalic index, stature, hair and eye colour are according to Morant not so important as blood groups in the matter of anthropological classifications of peoples. He concludes that the linguistic frontiers of Europe cannot be regarded as racial frontiers. Some of the South-Eastern Germans bear a much closer physical resemblance to some of the non-German peoples than to some other peoples in Germany. Morant's conclusions are calculated to subvert the Nordic cult which has been ruling a large section of sociologists, philosophers and statesmen in Eur-America.

The fallacy of Nordicism as of other racialisms lies in the conception of the rigidity or permanence of race-types or culture types. But the evidences of physical as well as cultural anthropology point to racial as well as cultural mutabilities or flexibilities. An old paper of Brajendranath Seal may be cited.[1]

"Most of the morphological distinctions (head and nose forms, etc.)," said Seal in 1911 at the Universal Races Congress (London), "do not connote vitality or a high or low place in the normal scale of development. The head and the foot do not vary among races according to their order of superiority. A long head (a so-called simian character) or a long foot is not a characteristic of inferiority. As Weisbach remarks, each race has its share of the characteristics of inferiority.

Seal's observation that "both morphological and physiological characters change with change of environment" is well calculated to take the edge of all racialistic theories which harp on rigidity of race-types. He maintained that morphological characters, *e.g.*, the changes rung on a few simple varieties of geometrical form, in the structure of the hair, the face, the orbits, the nose, the cranium and the pelvis are not so stable as some physical anthropologists would fain believe. Further, "the cephalic index in man, even if it were not otherwise open to dispute as confounding real distinctions of shape, seems to be unstable under special conditions."

The position of Seal in the sociological interpretation of anthropometrical data is embodied in the statement that "no view of civilization is sound or adequate which considers race and racial types statically and not dynamically as growing, developing or progressive entities. His logic is as follows:

"The psycho-social characters (and therefore the racial types of man whereof they are constituent elements) are marked by that greater range, variability and plasticity of response (*i.e.*, of the internal factor in organic evolution) which is the concomitant of all higher and more complex organization."

Even the proto-man "possessed a philogenetic variability." He was a "plastic and a progressive being, not arrested and not decadent, as savages in many cases have come to be in their isolated and inhospitable habitats." In the tribal organizations also, described as "ethnic civilizations" or cultural races, by Ratzel, the human capacities are, says Seal, "like all other bio-sociological characters," plastic, fluent and developable under suitable conditions and stimuli."

According to Seal the flexibility, plasticity and developability of the human capacities are continued through the subsequent stages of social evolution, for instance, in the "national race" stage. In this stage the elements of the previous ethnic or tribal stage are but redistributed. The "increasing variability of response in the individual" is described as the cause and concomitant of individual emancipation from the family and clan. Along with this is likewise developed "the increasing variability of the social mind and the phenomenon of social choice." The responses of the social organism in these higher stages of development are marked by indefinite variability, deliberative veto, purposive control and rational choice of alternative." Altogether, according to Seal, from proto-man to the nation-state the human personality is the continuous theatre of variabilities,

[1] "Meaning of Race, Tribe, Nation" in *Inter-Racial Problems* edited by G. Spiller (London, 1911).

fluencies, mobilities and adaptations. There is no place for rigidity of types in the evolution of human races.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE TRIO IN TAGORE

In *Rabindra Kavye Trayi Parikalpana* (The Trio-Pattern in Rabindranath's Poetry) by Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar (Vishwabharati, Calcutta, 1941, 128 pages) readers will find themselves introduced to a large number of extracts from Tagore's poetical and prose works. Literary critics as a rule content themsleves with employing a number of "isms" and trying to establish the pattern of their authors in an abstract manner. This conventional method has been avoided by Sarkar who presents his readers with concrete specimens of "*tal*" (rhythm), "*gan*" (melody) and "*gati*" (movement). It is a notorious fact, both in East and West, that "great masters" are very often not so much read as talked about. Sarkar's study is to be appreciated as a work that will compel every reader to memorize some fine passages from Tagore and enjoy their "latent contents." The impacts of the sub-conscious self constitute by all means an important ingredient in the creativities of every savant, publicist and inventor as well as poet, sculptor and musical composer. A psychological —nay, psycho-analytical—interpretation is possible and necessary in regard to the researches, discoveries and idealistic self-expressions of all and sundry. By initiating such an approach to Rabindranath's works Dr. Sarkar has succeeded in injecting into the world of art-appreciation the technique of symbols, sublimations, allegories and dream-imageries. The students of rhetoric will feel enriched with these Freudian categories. At a time when Tagore, like many other authors, is ransacked for "messages" bearing on nationalism, religion, socialism, universal love and so forth Sarasi Sarkar is directing our attention to the purely methodological aspects in the *psyche* not only of Tagore but of all creators.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SOCIOLOGY'S SWARAJ IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Sociology is a specialized social science like economics, law, politics or ethics. It is not to be treated as the science or philosophy of all social sciences. The position may be made clear from an analysis of the scope of another specialized social science, say, economics.

What is economics ? Economic history is not economics, it is history. Descriptive economics is not economics. It is perhaps geography or geology, mineralogy, botany, zoology and so forth. Applied economics is not economics. It is either carpentry, masonry, weaving, clay-modelling, mechanics, electro-technique, etc., or politics, ethics, philanthropy and legislation. Economics is nothing but the analysis of value—value in its divers forms, value statical as well as value dynamic. Where there is no analysis of value, there is no science of economics.

Let us, then, ask: What is sociology? Sociography is not sociology. It is geography, descriptive economics or anthropology. Culture-history is

not sociology. It is history of institutions or of ideas and ideologies. The study of progress or human destiny is not sociology. It is philosophy or metaphysics. An enquiry into the causes of social changes, transformations, metabolisms and reconstructions, or of correlations, functional relations, etc., is not sociology. It is logic. So-called applied sociology or reform sociology or social-work sociology is not sociology. It is economics, politics, law, criminology, ethics, religion, philanthropy.

For instance, rural reconstruction implies land-reclamation, irrigation, river-training, roads, sanitation, immunization, malaria control, water-supply, housing, land-law, *bonification*, property law, veterinary stations, co-operative marketing, mechanization of arts and crafts, cheap credit, new crops, improved varieties of old crops, schools, cinemas, radios, hospitals, village parliaments, news services, and such other items. These introduce us to economic, medico-hygienic, technocratic-industrial, financial-capitalistic, legal, constitutional and political categories. The rural reconstruction complex is not sociology. In order that rural reconstruction can become sociology or be treated sociologically one will have to analyze exclusively the new intermental processes, to use an expression of Gabriel Tarde, or the new relations established between the individuals, sexes, groups, castes, classes, professions, communities, etc., on account of the impacts of one or other or all of the agencies mentioned above.

Sociology is nothing but the analysis of sociations. The processes and forms or patterns of all types involved in the relations between human beings (*Zwischen menschliche Beziehungen*) constitute its only subject matter. In our time Leopold von Wiese has been concentrating his attention on this aspect of the "social" in his sociological studies. In the U.S.A. the general tendency is to premote and develop this viewpoint. It is time that this methodology be accepted by sociologists throughout the world, in case, sociology is to acquire the status of *swaraj* or autarchy is social science.

Encyclopædic or omnibus treatises dealing with all forms and types of intermental, human or interhuman, and cultural phenomena have been written in the past. They will be written in future. Perhaps such comprehensive, all-world, pan-human, and hetero-social, poly-historical or multi-philosophical studies will always be useful and valuable. It should only be proper for every inquirer or student to disentangle in his own way the strictly or exclusively sociological from these "all-party" social science tomes.

American sociologists are to be appreciated in so far as they are not too radical or extremist to ignore the utility of such large-scale, hemispheroidal and totalitarian publications relating to educational sociology, criminological sociology, rural-urban sociology, family sociology, religious sociology, political sociology, economic sociology and so forth. Be it observed that they are, as a rule, conscious that much of the material introduced into such publications is, strictly speaking, extra-sociological. For, after all, we must not forget the fact that a thorough-going adherence to von Wiese's methodology, entirely justified and scientific as it is, would often land sociologists virtually in the extremely restricted field of logical, formal, heuristic, definitional or analytical concepts and categories. But the sociologist cannot afford to ignore all those concrete topics or problem-studies in which the anthropologist, the philosopher, the economist or the political scientist is interested.

The analogy from economics should be, again, suggestive. The economist cannot overlook the discussions of nutrition, disease, expectation of life, constitution, law, engineering, technocracy, education, progress and so

forth if he proposes to be serviceable to mankind. In so far as value is not discussed in connection with these topics they are certainly un-economic or extra-economic. And yet these un-economic or extra-economic data cannot be always ignored by the economist.

This is just the position that is being claimed by me for the incorporation of non-sociological or extra-sociological problems or conclusions in sociological publications. In spite of this all-inclusive character, generally desirable as it is for sociological treatises, there should be ample field left for purely analytical studies bearing on sociations, social configurations, social metabolisms or transformations and social forces. The *swaraj* and independent position of sociology as a social science can thereby be safeguarded in a reasonable manner.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Indian Christians of Lucknow.—By Prof. N. G. D. Joardar, M.A., B.Ed., Acarya Sastri, Head of the Department of English, Lucknow Christian College. Published by the Author, Lucknow. Pp. 43. Price 12 Annas.

This is an intensive study of the social, economic and religious conditions under which the Indian Christian community residing within the limits of the Lucknow Municipality is living. The statistics and other information on which the author has based his conclusions are those for 1941. Prof. Joardar has instituted very interesting comparisons between the Indian Christian and four other communities of nearly the same numerical strength and has arrived at some rather important conclusions. The religious condition of the Indian Christian community which has come into being as the result of its refusal to adhere to ancestral faiths is an interesting matter revealing as it does that it, like the other religious groups, does not take much interest in the observance of what one may call the ceremonial side of the religion it professes.

A keen observer who has spared no pains in gathering the data on which his study is based and the possessor of a trained intellect and as such above all bias, the author deserves the gratitude of every one who takes any interest in the community which is dealt with in this small book so full of "meat."

The reader is informed in the Preface that this is a short summary of a much larger book which the author is preparing. It is to be hoped that he will not fail to place it before the world without any avoidable delay.

Prof. Joardar is to be congratulated on the valuable work he has done and it is time that he should devote the talents he undoubtedly possesses to the preparation of his larger work in which, let us hope, he will deal with all social and religious groups of his province.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Menace of Hindu Imperialism.—By Swami Dharma Theerthaji Maharaj, President, Hindu Missionary Society, Lahore. Published by Har Bhagwan, for Hindu Missionary Society, P.O. Box 225, Lahore. 1941. Pp. xv+334. Price Rs. 4-8.

Characterised by a broad liberalism, this challenge to the educated and patriotic Hindu is from the pen of one who has given up all we hold dear for the service of his community, his motherland and the world. Bold and fearless, the author pleads passionately and convincingly for the removal of those defects in Hindu society which, in his view as well as in that of all lovers of the Hindu way of life, are to-day insidiously destroying its power for good. And in doing so, he lays under contribution the knowledge he has gathered from authoritative sources as well as his deep and wide experience of life as lived by the Hindu community to-day.

The reviewer, a very humble student of the varied history of our motherland, cannot lay any claim to be an authority on it. He is not therefore willing to offer any opinion as to whether the fight between the Kauravas and the Pandavas was due to a deep laid plot of the Brahmins of those days

to destroy the power of the Kshatriyas. But there cannot be any doubt that Brahmanism after the loss of its pristine vigour and spirituality, did encourage the caste system with its implication of exploiting the less fortunate and less advanced sections of Hindu society. Nor can there be any hesitation among all right-minded people in holding that the very grave injustice of which millions of our brothers in blood are victims must disappear before we can expect any marked degree of progress in the social, economic, political and religious life of India.

It is very encouraging to find this outspoken condemnation of a great social evil coming from an individual who might, under ordinary circumstances, be expected to defend its continuance on some plea or other.

The contribution made by the author with regard to the solution of one of our most pressing and vexatious problems, Hindu-Muslim unity, should receive respectful consideration from not only the members of these two communities but also from every patriotic Indian. He deserves to be congratulated for the light he has thrown on it.

We confidently recommend the careful study of this very valuable book not only to the Hindu for whom it is primarily meant but to all irrespective of caste and creed for, while it deals with problems peculiar to only one and that the largest religious group in India, it is no less important to every Indian dealing as it does indirectly with the well-being of all the children of India which can be looked for only when the largest community in it has attained its pristine moral strength and health.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

For India and Islam.—By Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L. Published by Chuckervarty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Bankimchandra Square, Calcutta. Pp. xii+156. Price Re. 1.

Every one must know how numerous are the difficulties which have to be encountered by the Mussalman who preaches non-communalism—the task to which Mr. Rezaul Karim, who needs no introduction, has devoted himself at the cost of very serious loss of popularity among a certain section of his brethren in faith. In spite of these, he has stuck to his guns and has, for many years past in season and out of season, preached non-communalism and nationalism. It is gratifying to learn that he is finding not only admiration for his unselfish efforts among non-Muslims but also among our Mussalman brethren though here, on account of the tremendous opposition he has to encounter, such progress as has been made has necessarily been slow though steady.

In this book, Mr. Rezaul Karim has published 25 of his essays on the communal problem as viewed through the eyes of a nationalist Mussalman.

Written in a simple limpid style which is more difficult to master than many people realise, these essays are characterised by clarity of thought, irrefutable logic and clever marshalling of striking facts which must have been gathered at the cost of immense labour.

We congratulate the author on the excellent work he has been doing by advocating non-communalism and nationalism with all their implications and trust that, as the days go by his writings, already popular, will attract still larger numbers of readers, Mussalman and non-Mussalman, who, not content with merely admiring him, will follow in his footsteps in ever-increasing numbers thus bringing nearer that fortunate day when Hindu-Muslim unity will no longer be a dream but an accomplished fact.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Indian Economics, Vol. II (Sixth Revised Edition, 1941).—By G. B. Jather, M.A., and S. G. Beri, M.A. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. xiv+670. Price Rs. 6.

This work on Indian economics which the reviewer had the opportunity of studying when it was originally published in 1929 has gone through six editions mainly because it meets in a compendious form a need which had, previous to its publication, remained unfulfilled. This explains its popularity not only among teachers and educationists but also among people desirous of familiarising themselves with Indian economics. The fact that six large editions have been called for in a dozen years or so is ample proof of the very wide appeal it has for both students and the general reader.

The authors have made a reputation for themselves by the industry with which they have gathered their materials, the care exercised in their choice, their marshalling of facts and the impartiality of their conclusions. It is refreshing to find that the opinions of economists and publicists from whom they differ have always been presented with the utmost fairness. Where there have been differences, the writers have not failed to advance very convincing arguments in support of their views.

In this the latest edition, all facts and figures have been brought up to date and the economic position of India with reference to world movements and trends has been explained. This has entailed not only the recasting of practically every chapter but the incorporation of fresh materials. Additional value has been lent to this new edition on account of the observations of the authors on India's war finance. We would draw the attention of the general reader to the discussion of the price control policy of Government—a problem of very great interest during present conditions.

We strongly recommend this revised edition to those who are already familiar with the earlier editions.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Pakisthan Examined.—By Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L., with a Foreward by Maulvi Syed Nausher Ali, B.L., Ex-Minister, Bengal. Published by the Book Company, Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Pp. viii+168. Price Re. 1-8.

It has been the privilege of the present reviewer to examine a number of books on Pakisthan and to write on the problem himself from the point of view of a member of a minority community which claims the right to have a say in any scheme of partitioning our motherland. He regards the present opportunity of doing the same work with reference to this book as a piece of good fortune.

We find to-day that the stand taken by a section of our Mussalman brethren has made such an appeal to the Muslim masses of certain areas that some lovers of our country who believe in India, one and indivisible, have felt it necessary to organise a counter movement and to have an organ to fight this fundamentally wrong movement.

This Anti-Pakisthan movement has been sponsored by Indians professing different religious faiths and it is a matter of congratulation that Mr. Rezaul Karim, true to his past record as a bold and uncompromising nationalist, has made a valuable contribution towards the solution of this problem by publishing the work under review.

The Pakisthan theory, as the public must be aware by this time, has had many exponents nearly every one of whom has his own idea of partitioning India as a means of finally solving the differences among the two largest religious groups in our motherland. Mr. Rezaul Karim has confined himself to the examination of the schemes propounded by Dr. Abdul Latif, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, as well as what are known as the Confederacy and the Aligarh schemes. Towards the end of his book, he has given his readers the views of some nationalist Mussalmans on the idea lying at the back of the Pakisthan movement.

It is an intellectual treat to read the various arguments, all very cogent and very much to the point, with the help of which Mr. Rezaul Karim shows up the absurdity of the Pakisthan schemes. The various sections are cleverly conceived and brilliantly written. We recommend this outstanding book on this important subject to every one interested in the controversy raised by the Pakisthan proposals.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Life Insurance in India.—By Dr. R. M. Ray. Published by Allied Publishers. Price Rs. 6-12.

Dr. Ray has done great service to the cause of life insurance in India by writing the first comprehensive book on life insurance as applied to India. It is unfortunate that though the business has made rapid progress in this country for some decades in the past, scientific study of the problems of life insurance in its application to India has been up till now very scanty.

The book which has been approved by the University of Bombay for the thesis of Doctor of Philosophy, deals with all the important aspects of life insurance with particular reference to the peculiar problems that confront the administration of the business in India. The chapter on the history of Indian Insurance is very interesting and contains rare information not hitherto available and though, as the author states, it is not possible in a general book like this to do full justice to the history of the subject, the chapter is still the best history of Indian Insurance yet written. The portions of the book dealing with Principles, Mortality, Investments and Valuations have been very well written and reveal the keen insight of the author into the intricacies of Indian Insurance while the chapters on the Legal Aspect and Legislation also contain valuable information. The subject of Field Organisation however ought to have received a little more detailed attention for while it is conceded that in a book like this it is not possible to go into too much detail, the subject of Field Organisation deserved more clarification not only because it is one of the most important aspects of life assurance but, as is well known, it is perhaps the most abused side of the business. As such scientific education of field organisation on proper lines is an urgent need to all insurance men.

The book in short is a mine of information very lucidly and ably presented by the author and contains many piquant suggestions which should provide food for thought to all those who are interested in the improvement and welfare of Indian Insurance. We are sure it will for some time at least remain the standard book on Indian Insurance and can be safely recommended as a text-book on the subject.

P. R. GUPTA, M.A., F.C.I.I. (LOND.)

Ourselves

[*I. A New Fellow of the University.—II. Re-nomination of Fellow of the University.—III. Indian History Congress.—IV. A New Ph.D.—V. The American Academy of Political and Social Science.—VI. Shreemati N. D. Thackersey Indian Women's University Silver Jubilee.—VII. Report on the Diploma in Spoken English Examination, December, 1941.—VIII. The Late Pandit Phanibhushan Tarkabagis.*]

I. A New Fellow of the University

Rai Bahadur B. C. Sengupta, Principal, Cotton College, Gauhati, has been nominated an Ordinary Fellow of this University, *vice* Mr. Satischandra Ray of the M. C. College, Sylhet, resigned.

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II. Re-nomination of a Fellow of the University

The Rev. Father A. Verstraeten, S J., has been re-nominated an Ordinary Fellow of this University.

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III. Indian History Congress

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., attended the Indian History Congress held at Hyderabad, Deccan, in December, 1941, as a delegate of our University.

* * *

IV. A New Ph.D.

Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A., Lecturer in Ancient History, Post-Graduate Department, Calcutta University, who submitted a thesis entitled "Studies in the Development of Hindu Iconography" for the Doctorate in Philosophy, has been admitted to the Degree. His work was examined by a Board consisting of Prof. Norman Brown, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy and Rai Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

We offer our congratulations to Dr. Banerjee on his success.

* * *

V. The American Academy of Political and Social Science

Our University has conveyed its good wishes to the American Academy of Political and Social Science on the occasion of its

Forty-sixth Annual Meeting to be held on April 10 and 11, 1942, at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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VI. Shreemati N. D. Thackersey Indian Women's University Silver Jubilee

Our University has appointed Dr. Sudhansukumar Banerjee, D.Sc., a representative to attend the Silver Jubilee of Shreemati Nathibhai Damodar Thackersey Indian Women's University, Bombay.

* * *

VII. Report on the Diploma in Spoken English Examination, December, 1941

Of the 19 candidates registered for the examination, 7 passed in Class I and 11 in Class II, only one candidate proving unsuccessful.

The percentage of pass is 94.7.

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VII. The Late Pandit Phanibhushan Tarkabagis

The death of Mahamahopadhyay Phanibhushan Tarkabagis, which occurred on January 27, 1942, has removed from our midst a Sanskrit scholar of the very first rank, who had combined methods of Western research with the depth and thoroughness of learning associated with the ancient seats of Sanskrit culture.

His most enduring work is a translation (with commentary) of the philosophical system of Batsyayan, published in five volumes by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad

He had been a Lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit of this University since 1935.

Pandit Phanibhushan Tarkabagis received the title of Mahamahopadhyay in 1926. He had been intimately connected with various learned bodies in Calcutta His profound knowledge and understanding of Hindu philosophy won for him the esteem and admiration of all who had the opportunity of coming into his contact.

We offer our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

Notice

COUNCIL OF POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN ARTS, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The following are the subjects of theses to be submitted for the medals noted below :—

NAMES OF THE MEDALS

1. *Ranee Ramrakshi Gold Medals, 1943*—
   (1) After Life as depicted in Indian Religious Works,
   or
   (2) Inter-caste Marriages in Ancient India.
2. *Anandaram Barooah Gold Medal, 1943*—
   (1) Raghunandana as a Reformer,
   or
   (2) The Bhaskara Vedanta.
3. *Mrinalini Gold Medal, 1943*—
   (1) Social and Economic Life in Ancient Bengal (before 1200 A.D.),
   or
   (2) Vikramaditya in History and Tradition.
4. *Khujasta Akhtar Banu Suhrawardy Gold Medal, 1943*—
   (1) Musalman Vaishnavite Poets of Bengal,
   or
   (2) Bengali Literature under Muslim Patronage,
   or
   (3) Persian Translation of the Ramayan,
   or
   (4) Dara Shiko's Studies in the Upanishads.

The attention of the candidates competing for the theses is invited to the following rules :—

1. *Ranee Ramrakshi Gold Medals*

The topics on which the theses are to be submitted were modified by the Syndicate on 1 th March, 1932, as follows :—

In the case of the first Medal a thesis on any topic connected with any system of Indian Philosophy (including Jaina and Buddhist systems) will be accepted

In the case of the second Medal a thesis on any topic connected with Indian Religion and Culture will be accepted

Each medallist will also be awarded a prize in books of his own choice worth Rs. 75.

The theses are to be composed in Bengali and the Medals are to be open to competition among all persons who have been at any time admitted to a Degree of this University. The theses of successful candidates are to be printed and published by the University. The Medals are to be presented to the recipients at the Annual Convocation for conferring Degrees and the names of the medallists are to be published in the Calendar and in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

(*i*) Each candidate shall be required to submit, not later than the 31st October in the year for which the award is to be made, a thesis or record of original work in the subject selected for the year, and to send three copies of his thesis or record of work, to the Secretary to the Post-Graduate Council in Arts, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

(*ii*) Each candidate shall further be required to indicate, generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original. He shall also be required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice, or in collaboration with others and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

Anandaram Barooah Gold Medal

(1) That the Medal be open for competition amongst all persons who have at any time been admitted to a Degree in this University and be awarded in every alternate year.

(2) That the Medal be adjudged to the author of the best thesis or record of original work on a prescribed subject relating to Sanskrit learning.

(3) That each candidate for the Medal be required to submit, not later than the 30th June in the year in which the Medal is to be awarded, three typewritten or printed copies of his thesis or record of work to the Secretary to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

(4) That every candidate be required to indicate, generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original; and that he be also required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice, or in collaboration with others, and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

3. *Mrinalini Gold Medal*

(1) That the Medal be annually awarded to the author of the best thesis embodying the result of original research or investigation in a topic connected with Ancient Indian History and Culture, the subject to be prescribed by the Board of Higher Studies in History at least one year in advance and the examination to be conducted according to rules framed by the Board from time to time in that behalf.

(2) That the Medal be open to competition among all graduates of the University of not more than ten years' standing.

(*i*) Each candidate shall be required to submit, not later than the 31st October in the year for which the award is to be made, a thesis or record of original work in the subject selected for the year, and to send the typewritten or printed copies of his thesis or record of work, to the Secretary to the Post-Graduate Council in Arts, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

(*ii*) Each candidate shall further be required to indicate, generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original. He shall also be required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice, or in collaboration with others, and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

4. *Khujasta Akhtar Banu Suhrawardy Gold Medal*

(1) That the Medal be awarded once in every two years to the author of the best thesis, embodying the result of original research or investigation in a topic relating to the reciprocal influence of Hindu and Moslem cultures and civilisations.

(2) The subject for the thesis be prescribed at least two years in advance by a Committee of five members appointed by the Executive Committee of the Council of Post Graduate Teaching in Arts.

(3) That the Medal be open to competition among all persons who have at any time been admitted to a Degree in this University.

(4) That the theses be composed in English or in an Indian Vernacular.

(*i*) Each candidate shall be required to submit, not later than the 31st October in the year for which the award is to be made, a thesis or record of orginal work in the subject selected for the year, and to send the typewritten or printed copies of his thesis or record of work, to the Secretary to the Post-Graduate Council in Arts, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

(*ii*) Each candidate shall further be required to indicate, generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original He shall also be required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice, or in collaboration with others and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

S. N. MITRA,
Secretary,
Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science,
Calcutta University.

ADDRESSES

AT THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY HELD ON THE 28TH FEBRUARY, 1942

I

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR MOHAMMAD AZIZUL HUQUE, C.I.E.
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Once again it is my privilege to address the Senate and the graduates of the University, and in doing so, I extend to you all a most cordial welcome on behalf of the University. Your presence here, in spite of the war emergency conditions, is only an indication of the abiding place this University occupies in the hearts of the people and in the life of this province. Your presence gives courage and determination to all those who are working with us in these difficult times. On our part may I only state that, with deep-rooted faith in Providence and with unswerving confidence in our future, we shall continue to work with zeal and devotion to keep this University functioning, even if difficulties may beset our faith and even if there be perils in our way.

THE CHANCELLOR

Your Excellency, I offer you on behalf of the University our gratitude for your continuous and unflagging interest in all affairs of this University. Your wise counsel and guidance have always been of considerable help and assistance to us and particularly so in the critical times we are now passing through in this province,

OBITUARY

Rabindranath

During the past twelve months, the University has sustained many heavy losses through the cruel hands of death. Born in 1861, Rabindranath breathed his last in 1941. World paid her homage and mourned his death in words wrung out from the inner core of the heart. World lost a great soul, but we lost one of us, who wept with us in our sufferings and agonies and who heartened us in our toils. Intimately connected with us and with this University of ours, we had the honour and privilege of having him, in 1912, in our roll of honour amidst the galaxy of the distinguished men on whom this University conferred and has since conferred the Doctorate Degree *Honoris Causa*. He was a Special University Reader in 1923 and the Kamala Lecturer in 1930. For two years from the 1st of August, 1932, he was the University Professor of Bengali for delivering a course of special lectures, on selected topics connected with Bengali language and literature, for the benefit and guidance of post-graduate students and to promote the study and research in Bengali in this University. He addressed the Convocation in 1937. We mourn his death, and amidst this mournful memory, let us remember his message to us in reverence and humility in this dark hour of human peril.

Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan

Maharajadhiraj Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab Bahadur of Burdwan breathed his last in course of the year. A towering personality in the public life of this province, a statesman among politicians,

with deep understanding of men and events, he was a member of our Senate from 1923 to 1926, and his death was a great loss to this province.

Sir Ganganath Jha

Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha, a distinguished scholar and an eminent educationist, died in course of the year. He was a Kamala Lecturer for 1926, and he edited, with English translation, the "Manu Smriti," a monumental work of scholarship and learning.

Sir Akbar Hydari

The death of the Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, at a time when he was engaged in momentous works, was a great shock to all of us. With unique record of public service he breathed his last in January this year. The whole of India mourned his death. He came to Calcutta and was in our midst just about two weeks before his sad death. It was due to his far-sighted vision that we have a University in India, the Osmania University, teaching up to the highest University and post-graduate studies, both in Arts and Science, Technical and Medical included, through the medium of an Indian language, the Urdu. It was only recently that he was appointed by this University as the Kamala Lecturer on "Indian Unity—Historical and Cultural," but we lost him before he could deliver his lectures.

Shams-ul-Ulama Hidayet Hossain

Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Hidayet Hussain, who had been a Fellow of the University from 1922 to 1937 and was in the Indian Educational Service with a brilliant record and career,

breathed his last in course of the year. A renowned Oriental scholar, assiduously devoted to the cause of research and scholarship all through his life, he joined our University as a post-graduate lecturer even after his retirement. He attended to his University duties in the afternoon and died on his way home through heart failure.

Dr. D. N. Mallik

Dr. D. N. Mallik, a Fellow of the University from 1909 to 1924, and a distinguished teacher, who, after his retirement, was the Principal of the Rangpur Carmichael College for more than 15 years, died in course of the year.

To-day we mourn the loss of so many distinguished persons, and once again we pay our tribute to the memory of these eminent men, now living in eternal peace.

Our Congratulations

Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker

It is now my pleasant duty on your behalf to congratulate three of our eminent men who have been appointed in course of the year to occupy most distinguished places. The Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, who was for some time a Fellow of the University and who filled up the post of the Finance Minister of this province with credit and distinction, was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and is now in charge of the portfolio of Education. The Hon'ble Mr. Sarker has a distinguished record of public service. I am certain that he will bring in the Council of the Government of India his mature judgment and his ability

not merely in matters connected with education but in all matters vitally affecting the welfare of the people of this country. I only pray that Providence may grant him a good health to serve this country in his new sphere.

Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee

and

Hon'ble Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee

We offer our congratulations to the Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and the Hon'ble Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, well-known to you all and now the Ministers of this province. I will not attempt to paint the lily or go into the details of their devoted service to this University. It has been a matter of great pleasure to us that they are now in places of great responsibilities with wider opportunities of service to this province. Dr. Mookerjee has been an integral part of all our University activities for years past, and in this he has followed in the footsteps of his distinguished father who laid the foundation of that extensive framework of our University of which we are so proud to-day. Mr. Banerjee has also a distinguished record of service to this University. I am grateful to both of them for their ungrudging help and assistance to me throughout the period of my Vice-Chancellorship and may I only record my personal gratitude to Dr. Mookerjee for his unstinted support in the organization of the Department of Islamic History and Culture and to Mr. Banerjee for his ungrudging and devoted help in giving practical shape to the scheme of studies in this Department and also for taking up honorary teaching work in the Department.

George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy

During the year Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan resigned his post as George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, which post he had continued to hold ever since 1921. During this period, the University granted him leave to hold the post of the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University. He was, in addition to his work in our University, the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics in the University of Oxford from 1931 till the cutbreak of the war, and was permitted by this University leave during the period he used to be in England in connection with his work there. It was in September, 1939, that he accepted the office of the Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University in addition to his duties here, but he had, in circumstances well known to all, to accept the full-time Vice-Chancellorship of that University from the 20th of March last. I am sure that, in spite of being at Benares, he will continue to retain his connection with this University where he was first brought in 1921, then a young man with reputation still to make, with fame still to build up, yet with all signs of the making of a great scholar and a distinguished philosopher. His post has been ably filled up by Prof. Surendranath Dasgupta, who was until lately the Principal of the Sanskrit College and a distinguished member of the Indian Educational Service. He represented the University of Calcutta in the International Congress of Philosophy at Naples in 1924, represented India at the International Congress of Philosophy at Harvard in 1926, delivered the Harris Foundation Lectures at Chicago in 1926, delivered by special invitation lectures in many Universities of the United States

of America and of Europe, including a course of lectures at Rome, where he received the honorary degree of D.Litt. An eminent scholar, I have no doubt that he will keep up the traditions of this chair.

University Professors and Lecturers

Sir Nripendranath Sircar was appointed the Tagore Law Professor for the year 1941, on the "Law of Arbitration in British India." With a distinguished record of public service in India, and unique legal knowledge, the lectures which he delivered have thrown new light on an abstruse and intricate branch of Indian Law.

During the course of the year three distinguished persons were appointed Kamala Lecturers. The appointment could not be made for the last few years—it was difficult to get men of that eminence who have so long been selected for these lecturers. The Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, whose death we mourn to-day, was appointed the Kamala Lecturer on " Indian Unity—Historical and Cultural "; Sir Jogendra Nath Singh was appointed the Kamala Lecturer on the " Rise of Sikhism and its Contribution to Indian Nationhood "; Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was appointed the Kamala Lecturer on the " Discovery of India." Dr. Praphullachandra Basu, till lately the Vice-Chancellor of the Agra University, was appointed the Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts, to deliver lectures on 'Some Modern Trends in the Evolution of Human Institutions.' Dr. K. S. Krishnan, a Fellow of the Royal Society, was appointed the Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Science, to deliver a course of lectures on the " Physics of Metals." Dr. Sarojkumar Das was appointed the Stephanos Nirmalendu

Ghosh Lecturer of the year, and Dr. R. K. Das was appointed a Special Reader to deliver a course of lectures on the " History of International Labour Legislation."

Endowments and Grants

As in the previous years, several industrial firms placed in course of the year amounts of money at the disposal of the University for the purpose of carrying on researches in the University College of Science on various problems affecting their specific industries.

Messrs. Chatturam Horliram, Ltd., gave us a sum of Rs. 1,500, for setting up an outfit for testing mica, in recognition of the highly satisfactory results obtained from the investigations carried on by Prof. S. K. Mitra on the electrical properties of Indian Mica.

Messrs. Standard Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., gave a sum of Rs. 1,200, to continue the scheme of research undertaken by the University, on their behalf, on some chemical and biological problems under Dr. Susil Kumar Mitra.

Messrs. Bengal Waterproof Works, Ltd., gave us a sum of Rs. 1,500, to carry on research work on the manufacture of Dye Stuffs from raw materials available in India, under Mr. B. C. Ray of the Applied Chemistry Department.

Messrs. Chemicals and Solvents, Ltd., paid us a sum of Rs. 2,400, to carry on researches on the production of Oxalic Acid, Phosphoric Acid and Gelatine under Prof. B. C. Guha.

Messrs. Calcutta Chemical Company, Ltd., made a contribution of Rs. 1,500, in connection with the research works of Dr. M. N. Goswami on the preparation of Diphenyl Oxide, Indole and other perfumes.

Messrs. Indian Research Institute, Ltd., made a contribution of Rs. 1,500, to have some problems in " Essential Oils " solved and investigated into, under the guidance of Dr. M. N. Goswami.

Besides these contributions from Industrial firms, the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research of India gave us a grant of Rs. 13,802, to carry on researches under the teachers of this University on various problems, such as Extraction of Rare Earths from Monazite Sands, Extraction of Potash Salts from Molasses, and on problems connected with Molasses, Drugs, Scientific Instruments, Vacuum and Compressor Pumps, Optical Glass, Synthetic Dye Stuff.

The Bengal Industrial Research Board also gave us a grant of Rs. 830, for certain researches on Hypo-salt.

Besides these grants, the University also received an endowment of Rs. 20,000 in 3% G. P. Notes, with an accrued interest of Rs. 600, from Sir Upendranath Brahmachari, for carrying on researches in the domain of Medicine.

We also received a sum of Rs. 25,997-6-9 under the will of the late Mr. R. O. Raha, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, who had been the Inspector of Hostels and Messes under this University from 1933 to January, 1939, when he died, for the purpose of imparting training in any one, or in subject as near as possible to one or the other, of the following subjects, *viz.*, practical aeronautics, practical submarine training, practical military training, or training in rural reconstruction and handicrafts.

But the most unique endowment which has linked us with the past is a sum of Rs. 31,100 in $3\frac{1}{2}$% G. P. notes. Late Mr. Ram Gopal Ghosh was a Fellow of this University when the University was

first constituted under the Act of Incorporation of 1857. He died in the sixties of the last century and under the terms of his will, he left an endowment, subject to certain bequests which were released only recently and we received this endowment, which was made seventy-five years ago, for such purposes in connection with education as the Syndicate or the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the University shall deem best.

New Post-Graduate Departments

Geography

During the course of the year the University started two new departments for post-graduate studies, *viz.*, in Statistics and in Geography. With the introduction of Geography as a compulsory subject in the Matriculation as also one of the subjects for study in the Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. examinations, it was considered necessary that arrangements for the post-graduate teaching should be provided for in Geography. A syllabus was accordingly drawn up by a special committee who obtained opinions from experts from abroad, and after mature consideration by the various academic bodies of this University, the scheme was adopted by the Senate on the 26th April last. I am afraid that even though we have made some provision for post-graduate teaching in this subject, it is still in no way adequate and the department requires larger number of teaching staff with wider laboratory facilities. I look forward to the time when it would be possible for us to make this department worthy of the great traditions of this University. This is a subject of fascinating interest to all. It is a growing subject, wide in scope and character. No one to-day can

visualise the study of history nor can understand the great problems of human life in its multiple activities, unless one is familar with the background of nature and her intricate ramifications.

Statistics

We had also to organize a post-graduate department in Statistics. India to-day is faced with many problems in her economic and social life and a scientific study of Statistics is essential to tackle the data and facts which alone can give us a full appreciation of what we are and where we are leading to.

Islamic History and Culture

I am glad to say that the department of Islamic History and Culture is at last an accomplished fact. It was in 1929, then an humble member of the University Re-Organisation Committee, that I first brought up this question in a note which I submitted to the committee and which was published as a part of the committee's report. It was in 1938, soon after my appointment as the Vice-Chancellor, that I took up this question in the University and even though I had to contend with many difficulties, not within this University, but outside, the department is at long last on the way of a fair beginning. We started this department in July, 1940, with about 20 students; we had about 40 more students last year. For the last one year and a half and over we had to struggle hard to carry on our work with a devoted band of honorary teachers, to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude. For near about two years, all my appeals and repeated representations failed to get any effective response from the

government, but at long last, the Government of Bengal have recently been pleased to sanction a grant of Rs. 10,000 for this year with acceptance of the liability of this department on the University Funds, when the financial adjustment in connection with our annual government grant will be taken up in course of the year. My only regret is that the money was sanctioned so late that I could not get the opportunity to give final shape to the working of this department within my time. But I have no doubt in my mind that he who will hereafter be coming in my place will do this with greater ability than I could have done. This department is unique in character and scope. There is no other University in India with the programme of work that we have laid down before us. Its contributions must lead to greater cultural understanding of Islam, its history, its past and its heritage. It had all along been a matter of deepest conviction in me that nothing to-day is a greater necessity in our political life than the cultural understanding of the different faiths that constitute the people of India. I do hope and trust that this great work of this great University in this connection will be properly appreciated by all and I am glad to note in this connection that the All-India Muslim Educational Conference in welcoming this measure passed a resolution requesting other Universities in India to take up similar work.

University Training Corps

It was in course of the year that I took up the question of the University Training Corps and the urgent necessity of its expansion to mufassil centres of education. Some advance was made in this connection, but unfortunately the war has made it impossible to pursue the matter further. One matter

which specially came to our notice is the lack of opportunities for the Vice-Chancellors to come into direct contact with the training units and on behalf of the University I represented the matter to the Army authorities. I am glad to say that as a result of our representation, the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel has been conferred on the Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities, so long as they remain in office.

Appointments Board

It is a matter of gratification to us all that the Appointments Board of our University which started its career about 5 years ago with the good wishes of His Excellency the Viceroy has already been able to carve out a place for itself in the University life. It is not necessary for me to state the objects which led the University to establish this Board. All that I want to say is that though the Board is still in a formative stage it has already been able to earn the confidence of the City, as well as that of the Government. It is also no little pride for us to notice that various other Indian Universities have taken the lead of this University and have established such Boards. I must take this opportunity to convey the sincerest thanks of the University to the various Chambers of Commerce of the City for their continued support and also acknowledge our debt of gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy for the interest which he takes in this Board.

War Emergency Measures

You are aware of the circumstances under which we had to take various measures to deal with the exigencies of the emergency conditions through which we are now passing. Almost from the beginning of the Pacific war we have anxiously

watched the daily developments in the far eastern sky. We were even then pressed from many sides for a general closing of schools and colleges, but we were not at that stage satisfied that the situation which had arisen called for a complete suspension of all academic activities. At the same time we realised the immediate and contingent implications of the emergency. It was on the 19th of December last that we first decided that circumstances had arisen necessitating a definite lead from us in the matter.

We issued a circular to the heads of all affiliated colleges and recognised schools that the University would be prepared to consider favourably any application from a student whose parent or guardian might take such student out of the emergency area for condonation of consequent deficiency in attendance for purposes of admission to any University examination. The Principals and the Head Masters were further informed that they could dispense with the holding of Test examinations, if they so wished, for sending up candidates for the University examinations. We also suggested that if any school and college buildings are requisitioned for any military or civil defence purpose, the authorities should try to make alternative arrangements to carry on their work; but if that was not possible, to report the matter to the University for necessary instruction. We also requested the heads of all institutions to give fullest facilities to students to join military duties, A.R.P. and civil defence works and we informed them that so long as their names continue to be on the rolls of the schools and the colleges on payment of fees, students engaged in such duties would be deemed to have attended all lectures and practical work which they might have thereby been prevented from attending.

Soon after we had to take necessary steps for arranging a larger number of examination centres in mufassil stations. We had also to make arrangements for opening such centres outside the province. We have dispensed with the centre-transfer fees in all such cases. All these were done during the Christmas vacation. But the situation thereafter became further acute and we had to reconsider the whole question towards the end of the Christmas vacation. In fact the Syndicate was meeting almost every day, sometimes twice a day, almost throughout the vacation and it was on the 30th December that we decided on the representation of a number of educational institutions in Calcutta that the re-opening of schools and colleges after the Christmas vacation might be deferred for some time. After careful consideration of the situation we advised the authorities of schools and colleges situated in Calcutta, Chittagong, Asansol, and all educational institutions within a radius of 30 miles from these places to keep their institutions closed, if they wished, till the 18th of January last and we simultaneously decided to shift the examination dates for the Matriculation, Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. examinations by about a month. We had to consider the whole situation in the midst of this extension of the Christmas vacation as to what further measures should be taken in this connection. You are aware of the fact that we had several conferences of the Principals of Colleges, and Head Masters of Schools. After carefully considering the matter we decided that no schools or colleges would be permitted to open unless they had taken adequate protective measures in their schools and colleges.

And here, we were faced with the difficulty that the financial position of a number of

schools was definitely such as they were not able to meet the cost of such protective measures. With a view therefore to enable the schools and colleges to take adequate protective measures we immediately sanctioned a sum of Rs. 50,000 from our own funds and we approached the Government for financial contribution. We are glad to note that the Government have granted a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 for the purpose. The whole of the amount of Rs. 1,50,000 is being advanced to educational institutions to be repaid in such instalments or in lump as circumstances may permit, provided that there would be no liability of repayments for those who would not be able to pay owing to unsatisfactory finances. The work of adequate protective measures for educational institutions is proceeding as quickly as it can be arranged, and for this purpose we had to appoint emergency engineering and administrative staff to push on with all necessary protective measures. But we are faced with another problem. It was found that every school and college after their re-opening were functioning with considerably depleted strength. While we are prepared to give fullest facilities to any one who wants to have his son or daughter educated outside Calcutta, there will still be a good many who must necessarily remain in Calcutta and will have to remain in any contingency that may come in the future, and they must be provided with a certain number of educational institutions where they can continue their education. At the same time all the schools cannot function each with depleted roll strength; there is also a number of educational institutions with inadequate or weak building arrangements where protective measures are

almost impossible. Again a large concentration of students in one particular building may by itself be a danger in actual emergency. With the fullest co-operation of the managing authorities of educational institutions we are proceeding apace with schemes of central schools which must function with adequate protective measures in any eventuality. We are also trying our best to see that the teachers who may lose their appointments do not suffer, at least not more than what is inevitable and beyond our control. And here, I make an earnest appeal to the Government to do their utmost to mitigate their sufferings. I realise the difficulties, but let us do our best to all whom we can possibly serve. We are faced with an emergency we have never had before; we have a graver responsibility to the future generation.

I know, there have been and will be some criticisms here and there, but we are prepared to take the fullest responsibility for all our acts. We will be only committing the greatest act of crime towards the generation to come if we allow any school or college to function without taking adequate protective measures or do not do everything in our power to minimise the danger if it at all comes. It is in that spirit that our entire organisation is functioning and here I must thank all my colleagues and the officers of the University who had been working day and night for the last two months with a view to see that our University and educational institutions function as efficiently as may be possible in abnormal circumstances or eventualities. We had also to take precautionary steps against any contingency which might dislocate our University examination system in any manner.

This in brief is the outline of all what we have done and propose to do in this war emergency.

New Affiliations

I have in this connection to refer to the fact that within the last two years there had been a large increase in the number of affiliated colleges in the mufassil districts. In fact there was some criticism about so many affiliations being granted in course of the last two years. In 1937 the total number of affiliated colleges was 62. To-day the number of colleges has increased to 83. Apart from the fact that this has enabled a larger number of students to get education, it has enabled a larger number of teachers being employed in the teaching line. In 1937 the number of teachers engaged in different colleges was 1,369 and in December, 1941, it was 1,752. The absorption of near about 400 teachers, all of whom are graduates, is itself a matter of considerable importance. But we are faced in Calcutta with colleges, some of which have four to five thousand students on their rolls. As I said in 1941, long before the present emergency arose, that it is not to the best interest of anybody that we should have concentrations of a large student population only in one or two centres and that we should have a larger distribution of colleges in the province. I am sure, every one in Bengal will appreciate that it has been a distinct gain to the province that we followed the policy of recommending affiliation to more colleges in rural areas. Apart from the danger of a large concentration of student population in an emergency situation, which has arisen to-day, we cannot build all our hopes and aspirations only round about the city of Calcutta. Calcutta may

grow as big as its stature and strength may demand but I have absolutely no doubt that to concentrate everything, particularly in matters educational, within the confines of Calcutta is wrong from educational point of view and certainly a definite danger in the military situation with which we are faced to-day.

War and New Adjustment in Our Education

The world to-day is in the throes of great agonies and many sufferings. Clouds have gathered up not merely on our horizon, but almost all round ourselves, and no one can say how things are going to shape in the future. But whatever that may be, I have no doubt in my mind that India shall be stronger than ever, even though we may pass through a trail of sufferings, privations and misfortunes. With deep faith in Providence, Who has kept this country alive through many centuries, we shall emerge victorious from the perils of to-day. The Almighty will make her stronger than before—it is in that abiding faith and conviction that I feel that the time has come when we must critically examine ourselves, our educational system and our entire life. We have now felt and realised as to what it means if our trade routes are cut off and if our essential services are dislocated. And to-day we have to appreciate not merely the events outside India, but even inside this country or its neighbourhood. It is always in an emergency that we have to do severe thinking on our part as to what we should do to be prepared for the future. We are producers of a very large amount of raw materials and it is time that we must think of developing those raw materials for industrial and commercial utilization within the province. The district of Rangpur and

its neighbourhood grow many lacs of maunds of raw tobacco leaves and the largest bulk goes to Burma where it is made into cigars. If Burma cannot import these raw leaves we have to find out as to what we can do to develop the industry within our province so that our cultivators who grow tobacco may not have to starve. We had to import a large volume of commodities of all kinds from abroad which we can not get to-day. We had to import a huge volume of finished products from Japan and in fact the Japanese trade enveloped a very large bulk of our imports.

If we do not get all our food requirements that we had to get from outside this province or from abroad, if our agricultural products or other raw materials cannot go out, if there is shortage of the commodities that we need for all our economic needs, we have to think if we can develop our own resources to meet our own needs. We have to build up the future of India and of this great province in view of our experience not only here but what is happening elsewhere in the world ; we have indeed to rebuild this country of ours almost in a new shape of things to come. I have referred to all these that we may all put our heads together to consider as to whether our educational system requires any change to get an equilibrium between our training and our essential economic needs. If we are to develop our resources to meet our fullest needs, we have to answer the question as to whether we should not readjust our educational system so that, in view of what I have stated above, the innate capacity and tendencies of our youth with all the hereditary talents in arts, crafts and vocations may get full scope in life.

Great things have been achieved in the past under the present system but greater things have to be done in the future. We have to answer the question as to the part we do, can and ought to play in the economic life of the province and where we do, and ought to share in the industry and trade of the country. Is there any integral connection between our system of education and the larger needs of the country? Where do we stand to-day and what shall we do to equip and fit ourselves for the future? An answer to these questions can ultimately be given by the province and the country as a whole, even though the responsibilities to give new shape of things will to a considerable extent depend on the University and the University organization. I can assure you on behalf of the University that whatever may be your ultimate decision, we shall not fail to act according to your decision and choice. We can even now do a great deal. Our research workers are always anxious to stand behind you and I know our University men and their past achievements and their ability. But we and they suffer from lack of funds. We have no funds to equip a laboratory to meet the contingent needs of to-day. I am grateful to those industrialists and commercial men and the Government who have given us a few thousands of rupees to carry on certain researches, but it is not even a drop in terms of what we can do in full expansion if we only consider the vast requirements of to-day. I only ask as to whether the time has not come when the authorities who have the power to shape things should not take immediate steps to prepare a scheme and to find out finances that may be required to carry on industrial and technical researches with a view to develop the resources of this province and also to determine as to what extent our

education system should undergo modification to equip the young men of the future for such work.

We Can Defend Our Country

Ladies and gentlemen, we are now in the midst of a war; it is almost near our doors, but let us have faith in ourselves that we can defend our country. Behind ships, planes, guns and fortifications, a country needs several lines of defences which we can only ourselves work up. To-day let every one of us stand for the other. Let us work with all that we have got and utilise every little bit to our best benefit and advantage. Let us face facts. Let us rise above our mere selfconcerns and let every man and woman work not just for himself or herself but for the whole country wherever he or she may be or whatever his or her job may be. Let us have faith in ourselves. With land, naval or other fortifications, let us also have the will-power to defend our country. In its absence the Chinese Wall is stormed and the Maginot line gets broken, the fortifications vanish and along with it the nation collapses. Above all, let there be a unity in this country of ours. Let us stand united; with war at our door, let there be no war inside and it is only then that the storm clouds that are darkening the horizon will vanish. Let every one of us honestly admit one's own fault and not always find fault with others. If there is more of loyalty to our country, with less of personal, racial or party advantages we shall be a stronger country. Either we sacrifice our personal selfishness for our country or we sacrifice the country for our personal selfishness.

Our Country is Worth Defending

And this country of ours is worth defending and fighting for. Here in India we have everything

in our midst that goes to make up a strong, united and powerful country. Words have their limitations ; expressions fail me : it requires the imagination and the inspiration of a poet to describe the majesty of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayan ranges guarding our frontiers and the eternal beauty of the deep blue oceans which wash our shores. In our magnificent rivers flowing past historic cities, in the gloriously green forests scattered all over the country, in the enormous and probably inexhaustible stores of our mineral resources, in the proverbial fertility of our soil which has attracted the wondering eyes of the world, with our vast paddy and corn fields and, above all, in our enormous man-power, we have ample materials for the fullest economic and political development of this land.

This country of great culture and a noble heritage should not be lost to us on the counter of personal jealousies or on the chessboard of political manoevourings. Countless thousands of men of many creeds and faith have toiled for centuries to make this country and its culture what they are to-day ; our inheritance is a heritage of great sacrifice, of great faith, of great prowess, of great courage, of great conviction and of supreme faith in the Providence. Let us also have that faith in the Providence Who is the only source of ultimate power and strength to ourselves and then toil in the furrow to make this a great country. Let us make all efforts to defend our country and let us arrange its defence in all fronts.

The Crisis and Our Duties

Ladies and gentlemen, the world to-day is passing through a crisis unparalleled in the annals

of human history. The shadow of the international conflagration threatens to overwhelm our motherland. I do not wish to enter here into the politics of the present war, but I declare most emphatically and with the fullest sense of responsibility that it is the foremost duty of every one of us irrespective of party or religious allegiance to fight to the last for the preservation of our motherland. I do not know much about military defence but it is my firm conviction that we shall be untrue to our culture, to our motherland and to those gallant sons of India who have cheerfully laid down their lives in the defence of India if we do not make it our primary concern to do everything possible to keep the enemy out. Let us for the time being sink our internal differences—let us once for all realise that at a time when the nation is faced with a national crisis, disunity is fatal. Let us not repeat the tragic mistakes of the past. Let us build up in Bengal the most powerful Maginot Line of our unshakable determination not to yield an inch of our country to the ruthless enemy. I have no doubt that against this line of defence—the panzer divisions of the enemy and the fifth columnists will hurl themselves in vain. Our country to-day is in grave peril. Our culture, our civilisation, everything that is sacred to us will be completely obliterated if we fail at this critical moment in our history. Let us to-day stand united in the defence of our motherland—let us today take a vow that in the interests of the nation we shall cheerfully sacrifice every comfort. Let us leave the enemy in no doubt of our iron will to fight for our motherland. We are to-day passing through a period of agony, but out of this agony will emerge a New India of which every one would be proud.

New India

And in that picture of New India, I see you, the graduates of this University, occupying the most pre-eminent position—leaders of men, moulders of thought, pioneers of industry and organisers of prosperous peasantry, and, above all, builders of peace, amity and concord. Graduates of the University, to-day I raise that vision and that ideal before you and I wish you God-speed in your march of life.

Ladies and gentlemen, within almost a few days I shall have to relinquish charge of this great office as the Vice-Chancellor of this great University to take up my duties elsewhere. I have to leave my mother-land with deep sorrow that I have to be away and far away from my friends, brethren and countrymen. For the last four years I have worked with you in this post to the best of my ability and on this occasion of farewell I look to you in all humility for your best wishes and for your blessings.

II

His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E.

Governor of Bengal, Chancellor, Calcutta University

I must first thank the Vice-Chancellor for his kind welcome to me on this the third occasion that I have had the honour to preside over the Convocation of the University of Calcutta. The Vice-Chancellor has mentioned the heavy and irreplaceable losses which the University has suffered during the past year. One cannot mention Rabindra Nath Tagore without emotion. So much has been said that little remains for me. He was the guiding star of Indian culture and of Bengali literature, he was famous throughout the world and his passing leaves a gap which can never be filled. In the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, Sir Ganganath Jha and Sir Akbar Hydari the University has lost distinguished sons. In days like these men of their calibre are hard to find. They were leaders in various spheres of public life and it may be said of them that they touched nothing which they did not adorn.

I congratulate Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan on his confirmation in the post of Vice-Chancellor in the Benares University and I have been very happy that our University should have shown appreciation of his work by giving him the Degree of Doctor of Law *Honoris Causa* which I have just had the honour to confer upon him. I must echo the Vice-Chancellor's words in hoping that Sir Sarvapalli will not lose his connection with this University with which he has been in the closest touch since 1921.

The University has in the past year carried on its work and has in recent months given a lead to the educational establishments of the Province which was so much needed. The rapid co-operation of the University authorities with the Government, with respect to questions of Civil Defence, has been greatly appreciated.

The arrangements made for the continuation of the examinations will, I hope, be entirely satisfactory and I trust that the scheme of Central schools which will carry on with adequate protective measures in any eventuality, will be a success.

I most heartily endorse the Vice-Chancellor's opinion that it can be of no benefit to education in Bengal to have so large a portion of the higher educational institutions concentrated in one or two centres. The war may ultimately have this good result that it will help to distribute the higher educational institutions more evenly through the Province.

I also welcome the Vice-Chancellor's constructive suggestions concerning the utilisation of the Province's raw materials and the development of industrial concerns within the Province. There is surely a great field of industrial development which may be successfully explored. You graduates of the University, who are now going out into the changing world, will have many opportunities to assist in this development.

I have been seriously concerned for some time with the amount of unemployment among University graduates. I must, however, say that I do not feel that full advantage is being taken of the Government's schemes for technical and industrial training. The Vice-Chancellor has mentioned the invaluable work of the Appointment Board and I hope that it will not ignore this important matter.

Modern world offers a wide range of opportunity. The tendency in the past has been for many to drift into the "black-coated professions." These are now becoming over-crowded, and yet, there is still difficulty in filling the technical and scientific posts which are vacant. The Bengalee genius can turn as readily to practical as to theoretical work, and I sincerely hope that it will not be backward in seizing new opportunities which have resulted from the war which now for the first time for 150 years has cast its shadow across the Land. As yet it is only the shadow but we must prepare relentlessly for the reality. This preparation must not only be in organising and equipping A.R.P. and Civil Defence services, in digging trenches and in producing munitions. These are not enough. These are sinews of war it is true but, no amount of sinew will avail anything where the heart is weak. Men can build a Maginot Line but they must have the will to support it.

The Battle of Britain was won, not in the air, not on the land and not on the seas but in the hearts of the men and women of the great cities, notably of London, who stood steadfast in the face of ruthless inhumanity.

None will pretend that London did not suffer, but London stood firm ; a rock on which the fury of the *Luftwaffe* broke: it was a triumph of the undaunted spirit of man. The Londoner was undismayed by reverses, undeterred by wild and lying rumours and firm in his determination to stand fast whatever might come.

We cannot tell when or how the blow will fall here, if indeed it does fall at all, but we must be ready in our hearts as well as in material ways for whatever may eventuate. We must show the people of the world that Calcutta is in no way inferior to other great cities which have suffered in the courage and fortitude of its citizens.

Not only did the citizens of the great cities of England stand up to the tremendous onslaught of the *Luftwaffe*, they did more than this. They continued with their daily life and what is as important with their daily work. The production of war material and the necessities of every day life continued, and this is a lesson which we must also remember.

To ensure that work proceeds, every individual has his part to play and everyone must know where to go and what to do. Those who have to play an active share in Civil Defence must do so unselfishly and with courage. No less courageous must be those whose part is purely passive. They must above all maintain their moral integrity and value each rumour against realities, for there will be undoubtedly a spate of fifth columnist rumour-mongering designed to create panic and despondency. This is their task.

In this war the enemy is using that most modern weapon, propaganda, in a most subtle way. His aim is to undermine confidence, to sow the seeds of distrust, and thus to produce chaos. Our aim should be to realise this, to see that it is realised by others, and resist it. It is the duty of those with education to teach this to others both directly as well as by personal example.

The war draws closer to us but we now stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Nations pledged to rid the earth of the Nazi-Japanese menace. India has a great part to play and it is to the educated men and women that we must look to give the lead.

Let no one be deceived by an enemy who for the past four and half years has waged an inhuman war on the peace-loving people of China, on the very people to whom he owed a debt of centuries of borrowed culture and religious teaching. Our recent distinguished

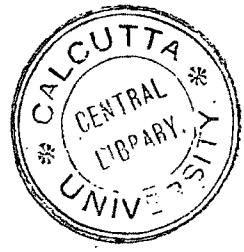
visitor, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in his final message before returning to Chungking told the people of India the truth about Japan which he and his countrymen had learnt by bitter experience. You should know and realise what Japanese standards are, and with that knowledge make preparations to prevent this barbarous nation from imposing her will upon India. Our preparation must be not only material but also psychological.

At this momentous time we are sending one from Bengal to represent the peoples of India in London, the capital of the Empire: I refer to the departure of our Vice-Chancellor, Sir Azizul Huque, who leaves shortly to take up the responsible post of the High Commissioner for India in London. That India should be represented by a son of Bengal is as it should be. That the representative of India has occupied the post of the Vice-Chancellor of our premier University is equally fitting.

It is given to Sir Azizul Huque to make history in the same way as it is given to us in Calcutta to shew the world our worth. Sir Azizul Huque is not only our Vice-Chancellor, but he is also the first Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. In this capacity he has in every sense followed the traditions of Mr. Speaker at Westminster and when it is remembered that he has also been Minister of Education and has added to the practical literature of the country, India should realise that in him our representative in London has all the attributes worthy of the high office which he will hold. To be High Commissioner at the present time when world history is being made gives Sir Azizul the opportunity to which I have already referred, namely, not only to have made History but to be a maker of History.

On behalf of all members of the Calcutta University I wish you, Sir Azizul, godspeed, knowing that in the onerous task which you are to perform, in the high office which you have to fill, you will on every occasion make us of the Calcutta University proud that you should be our representative in London.

LT.-COL. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY, B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P. (LOND.),
F.R.C.S. (ENG.), F.S.M.F. (BENGAL)
Vice-Chancellor



THE
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SCIENCE AND SUPERSTITION

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR, D.Litt., D.C.L., LL.D.

IN the July issue of this magazine I have given the summary of conclusions reached by science on the origin and course of the universe, the sun, the earth and its marvellous accident, man. From a perusal of that article, headed " Science's Survey of the Universe," the three main conclusions as a necessary introduction to this article are (1) that the universe, the sun and our own earth are born of an accident, (2) that they are on their way to extinction, (3) that far from there being a scheme or order in the universe, there is evidence of utter fortuitousness and disorder. These conclusions lead to the following deductions, namely, (*i*) that the ultimate source of all creation, whether cosmic or atomic, is energy and that there is no evidence of how it came into being, but scientific speculation does not favour the ultimate creator as depicted by religion, (*ii*) that, if he exists, he does not control man or guide his actions, nor does he act in the position of a super-King to man to judge of his conduct and regulate his actions, and (*iii*) that man follows the universal law of creation and destruction and that his survival after death is not borne out by science or even by scientific speculation.

Man, having thus come into existence and with no past to remember and no future to hope for, was like in a dark room which is

empty, but in which his imagery finds scope for exercise, and his instinct of self-conservation creates a hope of his continuance after death. That consolation is furnished by the hierophants of religion whose conjectures and inventions find ready acceptance by those whose minds would otherwise remain *in vacuo* and curiosity unsatisfied. The priest and the witch-doctor came into existence to satiate this craving, and numerous conjectures, wild though welcome, found avid acceptance by the multitude and these found the simple analogy of the King and his government as easy to explain the abstruse problems otherwise inexplicable. This gave shape to God and His relationship to man. But the King rewarded and punished his subjects, how is God's government to be accepted unless there was the continuance of man in some form or other to receive his deserts which created a place for the messiah, the prophet and the apostle, as superior middle-men between God and man, typifying the Viceroy or Governor as a necessary intermediary possessing the knowledge of God and carrying out His will and rule of man.

The soul was invented to serve a double purpose, *viz.*, (*a*) to pander to the human craving for immortality, and (*b*) to receive the reward and punishment of God. These necessitated the creation of heaven and hell. And these were necessary for all religions, earlier Buddhism only excepted.

The earlier embryonic genesis of religion rose from the worship of the sun, the moon and the other forces of Nature, such as the wind, the rain, the fire and pools and streams of water. Simultaneously animals of husbandry, such as the bull, became an object of adoration, to which were added the evil forces out of fear, such as the cobra and the snake and the dragon, and they were deified in the goddess *Kali* or the black demon of destruction, and the *Rig-veda* was composed at this stage of human evolution. The crystallization of these thoughts drove a horde of idlers and charlatans to make money out of nothing. They became the spiritual mentors of the people too busy to inquire into those phenomena and too ill-equipped to go beyond their natural senses. A new profession soon came into being and its lucre created a natural trade-union of priests who combined to keep the intruders away. This is the genesis of the priestly-clan which presents common features in countries as far apart as Egypt, Chaldea, Palestine and India.

The evolution of the soul has been of slow growth. In Egypt it was treated as material: hence the necessity for preservation of the body by preserving it from decay.[1] It is the primeval principle of all religions, and the building of a New Jerusalem for the residence of God's chosen few on their resurrection from the dead was imported into the Christian decalogue,[2] and the Moslem litany. The earlier concept of "animus" or the "soul" made no distinction between man and beast; in fact, it was said to animate all sentient life. But in later years, with the rise of the doctrine of fuedamentalism or the special creation of man, the soul was limited only to man, but here again, with the discovery of the unity of all life and the evolution of man therefrom, the scriptural hiatus has become widened and remains a gaping chasm between science and religion. The same hiatus exists on the conception of God and science's view of the universe. That God does not exist beyond human conception will be apparent to anyone studying the holy writs of all religions, in most of which He is neither defined nor described but idealized as a super-King; but in some such writings as those of the *Upanishadas* He is treated as the supreme spirit of the universe which, in scientific language, would be described as the cosmic spirit permeating all creation and not standing apart from it.

As such, it has no will or power of its own to save or damn mankind according to their deeds—much less to pardon or save it by prayer, fast, or votive offerings. Gautama Buddha is the only founder of a religion whose conception has the backing of science, since he denied the existence of a personal God and ignored it as the cosmic spirit; but his doctrine, though transcendental and true, failed to appeal to the masses, who re-shaped it in the Mahayan doctrine and brought it down to the spectacular stage of human devotion. This school accepted gods and fell into line with the notions of Hindu theocracy. In the present century all institutional religions are agreed on the following basis for their existence: (1) The existence of God as the supreme ruler of man, (2) Contact with Him only possible through the medium of His chosen viceregents, (3) Who can be appeased and would intercede for forgiveness if the devotee would placate them with monetary presents, which are taken as offerings to God and reach

[1] *Cf.* Lat. *animus*, "spiritual principle of animal life."
[2] *Cf.* the Lord's Prayer: "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done."

Him through them, (4) God is a kind and merciful creator and is approachable by fasts, feasts, prayers and votive offerings, (5) As such, being Almighty, He can forgive the most sinful if His viceregent intercedes for him and He will not forgive such sinful soul however penitent he might be, unless he approaches His judgment seat through His accredited son, messiah, apostle, prophet or an intermediary, by whatever name he might be called.

Science does not countenance any of these dogmas which it regards as man-made for his own benefit. To science all spiritual pretensions are fictitious and carved out for personal gain.

The question arises, how these pious frauds can be exposed. In a simple logical way that admits of no refutation and no reply. Let me state it: Suppose a kingdom with an all-powerful King ruling over it. He appoints one A as his representative to rule over his subjects, say S, to whom impostors B, C and D approach for obedience in opposition to A. S does not know whom to obey. He appeals to the King for guidance. Is it not the King's duty to enlighten him as to which of the four is His accredited representative? If He fails to do so, what follows? *First*, that S is in no way bound by the authority of any of the four, and *secondly*, that the King is either dead or has abdicated. In any case, if the King should thereafter call upon S to justify his disobedience, has not S a clear answer? Now, apply the same analogy to God (say G). There are thousands of messiahs, each claiming his authority from G. S is finite while G is infinite and omniscient. Is it not His duty to apprise S of His true representative, and if He fails, is not the conclusion irresistible that G, as S's superlord, does not exist, or that, existing, He is in no way interested in S's obedience, and, in any case, S's liability to obey G does not arise till G has done His duty to S. That this is admitted by all the impostors A, B, C and D would be clear from the fact that they present their faked credentials in the shape of miracles attending their birth and life.

Curiously, this argument, simple and conclusive though it is, has escaped all protagonists of metaphysical thought. They reason out the existence of God from order in the universe. I have shown in my previous essay that there is no such order and that it is the conclusion of science; the result then is that all institutional religions are man-made and kept up merely to inveigle and exploit mankind. But apart from religion its contrary must not be presumed, since

science is not able to trace the origin of the universe further beyond its energy. All it can say is that it needs a brain of larger dimensions to see beyond, but no such brains exist, and those who claim to possess them fail to convince science. The view of science as regards God is one of agnosticism.

Turning next to the human reactions to institutional religions, the following facts emerge from the study of their history. Founders of several religions are not conscious charlatans, for it is clear that, in founding their new creeds, they might themselves be deceived by accepting the truth of contemporary tradition, as appears to have been the case with the founders of two well-known religions and more recently with founders like Keshub Chunder Sen and Dayanand Saraswati. They were *ad hoc* social reformers and did not care to kick against the main pricks. But the founder of Buddhism was fearlessly iconoclastic and has revolutionized human thought by riding full tilt at the most sacred doctrine and practices which, he felt, were fallacious and faulty. As such, he must be accounted as the greatest of all religious divines and the most transcendental of all social reformers whose success was as miraculous as his creed.

The success of a religion depends not upon its merit but upon its reception by and reaction on the masses. That Buddhism, though both scientific and in its inception purely utilitarian, should have convulsed half the human race bespeaks well of the innate desire of man to receive and appreciate truth, even though it be not sugar-coated and dry as the Buddhist teaching was when imparted by the founder, but a few centuries later it had to be sugar-coated as the people could not swallow the plain ungarbled truths and needed the impetus of hope of a happier life, both here and hereafter, which Christianity lost no time in giving from its very start and other later religions have followed suit.

But the economic struggle accentuated by the discoveries of science have eclipsed the ethical precepts of religion and the cult of naked selfishness is ousting the humanitarian cult of selfishness embodied in all religions. This new force of world exploitation and world domination is avowedly opposed to all spiritual sanctions and religious service, while the slowly growing human homogeinity is being rent asunder by racial apotheosis and totalitarian terror.

That such a doctrine should have created a sympathetic reaction amongst people not belonging to the dominant race shows to what

extent man is subject to the influence of fear. His sturdy independence may beget individual martyrs but man as man wishes to live in peace, even though it be peace in a furnace. His religion has remained skin-deep. What is now needed is another manly invigorating cult on the lines of the original undiluted Buddhism, and a trial would prove whether the world has yet profited, ever so little, by its sanguinary struggles of the past.

The reaction to religious waves in India has been at one time phenomenal, though it may not have been all voluntary. But its reaction to a set-back was equally phenomenal, though it was more certainly involuntary. Our ancient faith, vaguely described as Vedic, was growing the virus of caste and racial jealousies. It lived on mass ignorance, credulity and blind obedience, the result being internecine jealousies and strife and the disintegration of even the Aryan Society. This had become a national menace which, Gautama Buddha foresaw, would inevitably plunge India into the vortex of strife and disorder. He preached a cult of universal philanthropy, and painted a new scheme of life, making that life happier and better than what he saw around him. The response of the country was immediate and widespread, but a new propagandist impulse was given to it by King Asok who followed it by word and deed, with the result that the new cult unified his great Empire extending from the Caspian to the frontiers of the present-day India. For over 1200 years Buddhism became the national religion of India and those 1200 years mark the red-letter day in its history. But, with the death of King Harsha (747 A.D.), a reaction set in, because there was no one to hold the torch that Buddha had lighted, and the machinations and intrigues of vested interests, that had been disowned in the avalanche of Gautama's personal appeal, began to resurrect and reconvert the several Kings which have torn up Asok's united India. These Kings lent their aid to the extermination or expulsion of Buddhism—the Buddhism of the Tathagata whom the Hindu divines had adopted as the 9th incarnation of their own god Vishnu. There is no argument against force and fraud. Buddhism was banished from the land of its birth, as was Christianity from its cradle in Palestine, both proving that the people as a whole are not able to resist the combined mass of spiritual and secular force. The fate of Christianity in modern Europe is a living example. It lingers in England because the King is still there the Defender of the Faith, but even so the teaching

of science and the force of higher criticism has weakened its hold upon the people, as witness the complaint of the clergy that not more than 5% of the people of London attend divine worship, and of these the majority are women and children. The adults go to play golf.

The social life of India is in a chaos. We have either to reform or to dethrone Hinduism, which has long since ceased to be Vedic, Shastric or Puranic, and is now a mere conglomeration of customs, neither rational nor refined. I have tried to do my little bit in reforming it through the Legislature, but I find that it is past reformation, and the only thing that occurs to me is to re-establish the banished faith which is the Hindu diamond cut into a brilliant with 32 facets. Some Hindus have taken to it, but it needs men and money to reach the multitude.

Next to Buddhism, Christianity is a fine religion but it is too deeply embedded in Judaism to ever appeal to India, while the same objection applies to Islam. But whatever religion India adopts, its masses must have a religion, because religion is a propelling force for conduct and action, and a nation without religion is a nation without a destiny.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS AN INTERHUMAN PATTERN

DR. BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

THE Commission to Study the Organization of Peace instituted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace with James T. Shotwell as Chairman observes that "the present conflict has taught us that something at once stronger and more adjustable than the League of 1919 is necessary. National sovereignty must yield more and more to the community of Nations. The world must evolve from League to Federation." *

A new category, "federation," is then in the air. It is really an old category as a social complex. But because of the enlarged scope in interhuman interest, federation may be taken to be something highly renovated or modernized.

Attention may now be drawn to *World Order Papers*, a series of pamphlets issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London). In the first paper entitled *World Order: An Attempt at an Outline* (December, 1939), J. F. Williams suggests the creation of a strong federal union comprising a number of,—not all,—civilized communities. The League of Nations is to be maintained as a looser organization of the world as a whole. To a certain extent he agrees with the American author, Streits *Union Now* (1939). "States of different ideas" are to be treated differently. "For certain purposes and within certain limits" the "national sovereignties of the federating nations" are to be merged. National sovereignty is not considered by Williams as a permanent condition.

In the paper entitled *Peace by Federation?* (1940) William Beveridge maintains that federation will bring lasting peace. "The peoples concerned will be prepared to barter arms for security and sovereignty for civilization."

The South African businessman and publicist, Percy Horsfall, has contributed *Some Doubts as to the Imminence of the Millennium* (London, 1940). In his judgment "a federation which included

* *International Conciliation* (New York, April, 1941), No. 369, p. 203.

Germany must be rejected." He stoutly opposes Beveridge's idea that "federation without Germany would seem to be not an advance but only another provocation." Horsfall believes that "Europe today is far removed from the triumph of reason," and that it is surely folly to expect organic union to flower overnight amongst the heterogeneous communities of Western Europe." He concludes that "in a world shared by the peaceful and the bellicose, peace cannot be preserved except by the might of the peaceful."

Whether the enlarged political unit be called a league or a federation, its essential nature or character as an inter-human complex cannot by any means be overlooked. The basis of any and every international pattern is interhuman. At bottom it is the relations between two or more human beings that underlie all international organizations or interstatal systems. The nation as a mystical and legal fiction or the state as a solid positive reality may look somewhat specially significant as a group. But none the less the rock-bottom of the nation-group or state-group is inter-personal or interhuman. The intergroup relations comprised within a league or a federation cannot likewise be anything but the relations between persons, individuals, or quite simply, human beings.

As an interhuman pattern the League of Nations, 1942, is alleged in certain quarters to be dead. They are sitting in post-mortem examination on it cadaver. In other quarters it is taken to be moribund or morbid. Most interesting to them is its pathology. But for all practical purposes, the League, 1942, does not differ from the League, 1932, or even from the League, 1922 in so far as its anatomy and physiology are concerned. Hence in the present instance the post-mortem investigation does not, strictly speaking, differ from the pathological.

In case the League is to be revived under a modified *Gestalt* or transformed in a totalitarian fashion into an entirely new *Gestalt* with a new name (Federation), nobody interested in constitution or law can afford to overlook the reality that the most fundamental considerations in the process would be social or interhuman. If the League has failed up till now as an interhuman complex it is on the interhuman affairs, interests or relations that the doctors should have to concentrate their therapeutics in the interest of a new moral order.

Politics is in a very large measure a function of individual ethics or personal morality. Equally individual or personal is intergroup

activity or international relation. As long as the individual as a moral person continues to be what he is, the inter-individual or interhuman pattern, no matter what be the name, can by no means assume a new character or tonality. In the last analysis, it is the orientations of persons to one another as human beings that set the standard in and furnish the foundations of leagues or federations as inter-group or international patterns. The reform of the League of Nations involves, therefore, as one of the preliminaries or preconditions a remaking of individual morality or personal ethics.

Let us ignore for the time being the present war conditions and focus our attention on the interhuman activities of the League under normal non-war conditions.

The achievements of the Geneva Complex as an academic, scientific, informational clearing house, nay, humanitarian or philanthropic super-institution are too well known and adequately recognized. But they have not been able to hide the ugly fact that it has failed tremendously in its role as the avowed and over-emphasized organ or world-peace. The reasons are not far to seek. They lie on the surface in the very origin, structure and plan of this international pattern. If any thing, this complex is the most permanent and best organized instrument for the annihilation of world-peace.

The League has invariably taken a wrong view of its interhuman foundations and systematically managed the interhuman affairs in a wrong manner.

In the first place, the Geneva Complex is a product of and is was deliberately wedded to the Versailles Complex. It is dedicated to the perpetuation of the inimical relations between the victors and the vanquished powers. It furnishes, therefore, the perennial stimuli to the vanquished in order to embark upon avenging the tyrannies and tortures perpetrated on them. Automatically, the greatest stumbling block to world-peace and international amity is the Geneva Complex itself as a dehumanizing pattern of interhuman relations.

Secondly, the Geneva Complex embodies the ideology of the *status quo* in regard to the colonies, dependencies, quasi-colonies, semi-dependencies and so forth of today. It represents the philosophy of imperialism and colonialism in its most naked and shameless brutalities. There is no understanding among the imperialists of the Geneva Complex about the ambitions, interests and requirements of their

slaves, *defacto* and *de jure*, spheres of influence, spheres of intreests, etc., in Asia, Africa and America. Nothing could be a greater menace to world-peace and interhuman fellowship than this absence of orientation to the demands of the subject races throughout the world for independence and sovereignty on the international plane.

Thirdly, the Geneva Complex represents in its procedures and methods of activity the deliberate idea of enabling the newly created states of Eastern and Central Europe to function in an arrogant manner in regard to their ex-masters of several generations. It is based on the sadism of the victors which delights in getting the vanquished powers humiliated by their vassal-states. Under the benign protection of the Geneva Complex these so-called nationality-states are (or rather were), further, being encourged to cherish plans of colonial empire in Asia, Africa or America. Like the *nouveaux riches* these new states—the subject races of yesterday,—have been growing into chauvinists and imperialists *visàvis* the "inferior races" and subject nationalists of the world. The senior imperialists of the Geneva Complex are directly responsible for the imperialistic urges of these juniors, their "spoilt children." Not the least disturber of world-peace and promoter of interhuman storms is the iniquities and megalomanias associated with these new states from the Balkan to the Baltic Complex.

Last but not least, the Geneva Complex is in general ideology the most rigid embodiment of the international order or world-equilibrium that is. As the Bastille of static-repose or *achalayatan* (to use an expression from Rabindranath Tagore) it fears any and every change except the ones that promote the interests and ambitions of its own empire-holders and colony-proprietors, or their subordinates, their "spoilt children." The category, "peaceful change," is vocal in its *milieu*. But the Geneva Complex has failed to introduce any political change of major importance by peaceful, *i.e.*, legal, consultative and conferential methods. No political or international change that is likely to do bare justice to the feelings or requirements of the vanquished powers has ever been attempted by the ex victors in council, known as the Geneva Complex. Nor, of course, has any peaceful change been dreamt of by the empires in regard to their colonies and dependencies. The failure of peaceful change is the most fruitful spur to the violation of world peace by the suffering groups of mankind.

In keeping with the general imperialistic ideologies of the bosses of the Geneva Complex their category, "disarmament," implies something entirely different from and opposite to what human beings normally understand. The following equation would indicate their position:

> Disarmament = (1) thorough disarming of the subject races and of the vanquished powers + (2) arming the victorious empire-holders and their vassal-states to the teeth and nails.

But in regard to item No. 2 they are nervous on account of the rivaliries and eventual wars between themselves. So the item No. 2 is often made to imply a relative limitation or restriction of armaments as between the ruling races.

The ecology of this interhuman pattern cannot but furnish a perpetual inspiration to the colonies and dependencies as well as the vanquished powers to attempt by hook or by crook to re-arm themselves cleverly and secretly. The Geneva Complex is philistinism incarnate and a monument of hypocrisy. It is, therefore, a source of demoralization and dehumanization on a world-wide scale.

Internationalists, peace-lovers, statesmen and idealists the world over have been thinking of getting the Geneva Complex reformed or re-constructed. Such persons with pious wishes are invited to take note, in a scientific and cool headed manner, of the considerations indicated above. They are likely also to be well-advised in case they care to psychoanalyze the mentality of the bosses and directors as well as the men behind them that rule this international pattern.

The mentality of ruling races in regard to international questions is affected by two diseases of a very harmful character.

First, a peculiar neurosis has almost invariably attacked the *psyche* of statesmen and scholars belonging to the empire-holding directors of the Geneva Complex. It is associated with the *idola* that whatever these imperialist bosses do or think is liberty, democracy, civilization, humanity and progress. Any idea, movement or institution, outside the range of these empire-holders is alleged to be detrimental to freedom, self-direction, and advancement of mankind. This smug self-complacency of the ruling races can never lead to sanity and peace in inter-human relations.

Secondly, no less noticeable is the neurosis derived from the wishful thinking that the vanquished powers and the subject races of

today are bound to remain vanquished and subject forever. The *idola* that these powers or races are so effectively disarmed that it is impossible for them ever to rise against the hated oppressors is a most universal ingredient in the psychology of the colony-owners and dependency-drivers of the Geneva Complex. They are naturally impervious to the Asian Monroe Doctrine, cries for which have been raised not only by Japan who, although a first class power and an empire-holder is in perpetual dread of the anti-Asian onslaughts of Eur-America, but also by all other Asians from Manila, Batavia and Nanking to Teheran, Ankara and Cairo.

Those who would seriously think of reforming or reconstructing the Geneva Complex will have to administer adequate therapeutics calculated to emancipate the Nietzschean master-mentality that prevails in the Geneva Complex and its supporters among the ruling races from these neuroses and idolas. Both curative as well as preventive treatments of *la médecine sociale* will be required in order to bring the empire-holders to normal ways of thinking and acting in regard to the diverse peoples of the world. A genuine League or Federation of Nations (states) cannot come into being until the imperialists are cured of their colony-mania and dependency-neurosis and prevented from relapsing into them.

The failure of the Geneva Complex as an instrument of world-peace implies in the long run but the unpreparedness of men and women among the ruling races, *i.e.*, the empire-holders, to change their mentality in regard to slaves, colonies and dependencies of diverse denominations. But the two decades or so of the functioning of this international pattern, however unfriendly or *status quoish* it be to the vanquished powers and subject races, has served to enrich mankind with new and really worth-while conceptions about political independence and national sovereignty. The theory of the state, the theory of nationality and the theory of sovereignty in external affairs are getting modified on account of the day-to-day activities of the Geneva Complex in regard to the affairs of the two hemispheres. These modifications and transformations are valuable for the clarification of political intelligence.

In the atmosphere of the Geneva Complex political philosophy is first and foremost acculturated to the idea that nationality or political independence as an aspect of sovereignty is in its origins a function of international interventions, mutual intrigues, and wars.

Subject races or regions can, if at all, become independent or free if they can, along with other things, carry on intrigues with the enemies of their masters and if the former can successfully overpower the latter. International rivalries and wars constitute the fundamental *milieu* and the sole possibilities for the eventual emancipation of colonies and dependencies from their rulers. Peace conditions enable the rival powers to pool their interests with one another and perpetuate the *status quo* and are therefore the most detrimental to the interests and requirements of subject peoples. As soon as wars break out the belligerents vie with one other in order to espouse the freedom of the slaves of their enemies. National freedom or statehood is thus conditioned by the international conjuncture so far as its beginnings are concerned. No war, no state. No war, no nation (if this term is to be used at all). No war, no freedom.

A second phenomenon of extraordinary importance in the theory of freedom, statehood and nationality that is most prominent in the *milieu* of the Geneva Complex is the preoccupation with the minorities and their problems. As a rule, minorities are alleged to be the special features of the newly created states in Eastern and Central Europe. In reality they exist in every state, old and new, great, medium or small. Political philosophy is forced to admit the worthlessness, factually considered, of all theories which base freedom, nationality, statehood or sovereignty on the unity of race, language or culture. There is hardly a state anywhere in the world that is uni-racial, uni-linguistic or mono-cultural. The subject has been dealt with in my *Politics of Boundaries* (1926, 1938).

In all discussions on world-politics the category "nation" should be ruled out. It ought to be replaced by the category, "state." The world knows not a League of Nations, which is a misnomer, but a League of States, which is a reality. Every state is to be postulated as a complex of multiple races, diverse languages and plurality of cultures. The nationality theories of Herder, Fichte, Mazzini, Kossuth, Masaryk and Aurobindo deserve to be treated as curios of political history. The World-War I (1914-18) was advertised as a war of nationalities. But it produced just a bunch of states in each of which the principle of nationality was non-existent. Each one of these states is indeed an instrument for perpetrating tyranny on the minorities. The greatest mischief conceivable in the political world is today being committed on account of the survival of this

nationality *idola*. The factual situations in the Geneva Complex ought to emancipate political philosophy from this incubus.

The world needs theories and postulates such as may deliberately go in for polyglot, multi-racial and hetero-cultural states. The cementing bond of hotch-potch states, as every state of history from ancient times until today has factually been, is in modern times to be two-fold. First is wanted the universal suffrage of adults. The second desideratum is adequate weightage in favour of the poor in every state. Minorities as a category can therefore be automatically rung out of existence. The first may be described as the democratic principle. The second principle may be called socialistic. The Russian experiment is likely to be instructive in this regard to a certain extent. Two other compulsory requirements of modern statehood are being singled out. The first universal requirement is freedom of conscience, faith, creed or religion as well as of social customs and *mores* for all sundry. The other necessity is the dignity to be attached to every local language obtaining in a large country so far as demontory public instruction and administrative affairs are concerned.

In the third place, the Geneva Complex has been serving to reorientate international law to novel data in regard to the theory of sovereignty. The number of conferences or discussions on political, currency, economic, labour, hygienic and socio-cultural topics in which dozens of states,—independent, semi-independent, subject and semi-subject,—take part from year's end to year's end has grown enormously during the last two decades. These international conferences are vitually world-parliaments or super-statal congresses. Major political issues are as a rule avoided in these discussions. But there is hardly anything of importance in the public life of the most diverse peoples that remains outside the agenda of these inter-statal deliberations. It is impossible to deny that, for many purposes and in considerable proportions, the boundaries of states or frontiers of nations *n'existent pas*, do not exist. Every state is more or less directly and of course indirectly interfering in and co-operating with almost every other state in the normal activities of politics, economics, and culture. Such mutual interventions or reciprocal influencings have been increasing dose by dose and day by day, so far as deliberations and discussions are concerned.

Nor are these deliberations and discussions to be envisaged as the merely academic proceedings of international scientific congresses,

Their impacts on actual legislation and administration in the participating states are considerable and have been growing in magnitude and worth. The results of these international deliberations, proposals and resolutions are regularly presented to the parliaments and other assemblies of the praticipating states. The members of the national parliaments are called upon to discuss and vote upon the international findings and thereby co-operate with the members of other national parliaments in regard to common problems which are really the questions of all-world consequence. Some of the bills passed by national parliaments into law embody thus in a considerable measure the voice of many parliaments and many peoples. The sovereignty of individual states has therefore ceased to exist as an absolute or unconditioned phenemenon. It is conditioned and limited to a certain extent by the discussions, findings, opinions and interferences of a large number of states existing beyond one's own frontiers.

To what extent the participations by states in interstatal congresses and conferences are really popular, democratic or proletarian is an open question. Nor can it be vouched that the national parliaments and assemblies of individual states are controlled by the masses, the poor and the pariah. The mutual interventions in state affairs which are tantamount to the international limitations of national sovereignty need not therefore be assumed to be democartic or proletarian.

It is, besides, to be observed that representatives of foreign states do not attend the national parliaments or assemblies, except once in a while as guests or observers, and have no voice in the deliberations of these bodies. The national parliaments continue thus to exercise their role in formal or *de-jure* independence of one another. This formal independence is more or less similar to that of the local bodies in a unitary state or of the member-states in a federal structure. All the same, the factual intervention of the international congresses in the affairs of the national parliaments is not more to be denied than that of the federal authority in its member-states or the unitary central government in its provincial or district organizations. The sovereignty of invividual states has become to a certain extent federalized or decentralized on a world-wide scale. This is an aspect of the functioning of the Geneva Complex which is well calculated to cry halt to the traditional conception of absolute, unlimited undivided sovereignty as prevalent in international law.

ECONOMICS OF *KHADI* BY M. K. GANDHI

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

IT is not perhaps incorrect to assume that the first large-scale fillip to the cotton mill industry flowing from political causes came rom the boycott of British goods started by Bengal after the partition of this province. Those of us who had the opportunity of watching the operation of the boycott movement at close quarters were grieved when we found that, running true to form, the Indian cotton mill industry took advantage of the heavy demand for its products and put up the prices.

A study of Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography shows that, impelled by his love for our poorer brethren, the agriculturists of India, he began to think of reviving *khadi* which, in the past, had made rural India self-sufficient in the matter of clothing. The account of the search he made for suitable implements for spinning and for people who knew the art and could teach it to others makes entrancing reading. If the present writer is not mistaken, his experiments began from about 1908 and to-day we find them still going on at Maganwade, Wardha. The search for more and more efficient and at the same time cheap implements is continuing and experiments are still going on. One very encouraging feature of the movement is that, with every year, India is not only developing more and more efficient implements for hand-spinning and hand-weaving but that the consuming classes are patronising *khaddar* to an increasing extent. The present writer, during his tour in South India, found rural areas where practically the whole of the clothing is being manufactured by the people themselves.

There cannot be any doubt that the real reason which led Mahatma Gandhi to use his influence with his countrymen to popularise *khadi* was his concern for the misery of the agricultural masses. He has pointed out often and eloquently how they are without any work for four to six months in the year and how the purchase of machine-made cloth deprives them of means which they could utilise for feeding themselves. He has also drawn our attention to the results of lack of work and, its consequence, forced idleness and,

most important of all, to the economic improvement the country could expect by the adoption of hand-spinning on an extensive scale. The depth of his conviction may be measured by the fact that, in spite of the very busy life he leads, he religiously devotes time to hand-spinning himself.

The Non-Co-Operation Movement was the second political incident which infused life and vigour in the *khadi* movement. It may be that all readers will not agree with the present writer when he says that the militant aspect of the boycott movement, which only too often had as its incentive a desire on the part of Indians to show their disapproval of the attitude of the British administration towards their political demands, induced large numbers of people to take to the use of *khadi* rather than the idea of helping the Indian masses by patronising a home industry.

This, of course, was not what Mahatma Gandhi would or could approve but there is not the slightest doubt that *khadi* became a kind of uniform for the nationalist. Nor are instances wanting to prove that there was a time, and that not very long ago, when wearing *khadi* was not quite a safe thing. Mr. C. J. O'Donnel, M.P., in his "Causes of Present Discontents in India," published in England and written presumably for English readers, has told us how, during the time he refers to, many were arrested by the police for no other reason than that they used *khaddar* and were therefore suspected of sedition.

Fortunately, we have passed that stage and to-day it is not the desire to injure Lancashire, a psychology based on hatred and therefore condemnable, but eagerness to make our motherland self-sufficient which is responsible for the increased popularity of khadi.

Much has been said about the very low remuneration which can be earned by hand-spinning and how economical mill-made cloth is. But it is forgotten that the rural people have no spare-time occupation which can be taken up and dropped at any moment and which can, at the same time, supply them with one of the indispensable necessaries of life. There is also the fact that they do not have the means with which to purchase mill-made cloth and that when they do so, it makes very heavy inroads on their earnings.

To-day India imports fully a third of her requirements in the direction of clothing from outside. This import of manufactured cloth must diminish with growing intensity of the war situation and the

supply may even be practically stopped. This will have to be met somehow from indigenous sources. This would be difficult if the war touches India more nearly than now. Large-scale production in mills and factories is bound to be dislocated, transport and communication thrown out of gear, with its natural result, the uneven distribution of the essential commodities including cloth. We cannot forget that even such cotton mills as have been started are not scattered over the face of the whole country but are concentrated in Western India. Any break in the chain which links production and distribution will mean inconvenience and, if persistent, a half-naked condition for the poor.

This factor, though only a contingency, has made the position of the *khadi* programme still stronger. The thousands of villages deprived of normal access to the centres of manufacture will have to fend for themselves in all matters including clothing. Fortunately, villagers use little of manufactured goods. Some of these they can give up, for others they can find substitutes. It is more than probable that restricted railway traffic may play its part, however small, in encouraging this most essential of all cottage industries.

There cannot be much doubt that when Mahatma Gandhi originally put forward the *khadi* programme, orthodox economists nurtured in the school of Adam Smith and Ricardo ridiculed it, as also his advocacy of village industries, as the dream of a visionary who had not only failed to appreciate the value of Western learning but was hugging medieval ideas of industry in a new world created by the industrial revolution. And yet India is slowly coming to realise that his ideas were sound and much of the respect and consideration shown to cottage and small-scale industries to-day can be traced to the influence his constant advocacy of them has exercised. Their development and the large part they are playing in the economic life of Soviet Russia is also opening our eyes to their fundamental importance in a well-thought-out scheme for the industrial development of our motherland. But even in those days, there were some economists who had sufficient vision to realise the importance of *khadi* though it would be incorrect to suggest that they agreed *in toto* with the opinions of Mahatma Gandhi.

For instance, Dr. Gilbert Slater, in an article entitled " Protection for India " which he contributed to the " Asiatic Review " in April, 1923, observed:

" I do not myself endorse Mr. Gandhi's views on this matter, but I must confess that I have a good deal of sympathy with them; and I consider that there is much more reason in them than would at first sight appear. He holds . . . that there is no remedy for the evils springing from capitalist big business, machinery, and factories, short of dispensing with those things themselves, and with all the material advantages they bring. He would give up railways and motor-cars for the ox-cart, and textile factories for the spinning-wheel and hand-loom. The idea to Western minds appears childish and ridiculous, and in India itself it commands very little genuine support, and hence it is not really practicable. But consider the conditions of Indian village life. Though they vary from one part of India to another, everywhere the monsoons are the dominating fact. Generally speaking, we may say that there is a brief period in the year when all the available labour is wanted for agricultural work, a longer period when employment is fairly good, and long periods when there is little or nothing to be done. In the old days, cotton-spinning was the great subsidiary industry that occupied the period of compulsory agricultural leisure, and Mr. Gandhi desires that this should be the case once more. A mean of various observations and calculations indicates that two annas a day is about as much as a man or woman can on the average earn with the spinning-wheel, and this is indeed a miserable pittance. But two annas a day is better than nothing, and two annas a day earned by each of several members of a family during the four or five months when there is no agricultural work to be done may make all the difference between adequate nutrition and semi-starvation."

During the Non-Co-Operation Movement, as well as after it had petered out, Mahatma Gandhi who was convinced about the soundness of his ideas recommended the adoption of the constructive programme and had it implemented through our largest, most influential and only non-communal political organisation, the Indian National Congress. During and after the Civil Disobedience Movement, the emphasis on the constructive programme was continued, and Gandhiji has made hundreds of speeches and written hundreds of articles advocating the mass adoption of the *khadi* programme.

It was to the present writer a most welcome thing to find that the time at last came when Gandhiji severed all connection between the All-India Spinners' Association and the Congress, probably because

he realised that, for the success of his project, it was necessary that non-Congressmen also should associate themselves with the *khadi* movement. The result is that the *khadi* campaign is proceeding from strength to strength and has laid such a hold on the country at large that one may be certain that it is going to stay. The suggestion that it is a mere flash in the pan can no longer be made with any show of reason.

A very interesting thing is that the *khadi* programme is gaining a footing in the Indian States, some of which have introduced hand-spinning and hand-weaving through their own departments of industry. It is understood that others have requested the All-India Spinners' Association to open branches in their territories.

To-day *khadi* made out of hand-spun thread is turned out by organisations recognised by the All-India Spinners' Association in every part of India and it is being used by all classes of people. According to the latest report, that for the year 1940, this organisation gave work to spinners and weavers in 13,451 villages where more than 2 lakh and 76 thousand spinners and weavers earned more than 34 lakh and 87 thousand rupees. It also had 2,933 people in its employment who were paid more than 6 lakh rupees. The average wages of the weaver, always a whole-time worker, was Rs. 50 per month while spinners, all part-time workers, earned Rs. 12 per month. The remuneration paid to spinners was three annas for eight hours' work.

While this is a splendid record, it also shows how much still remains to be done. It should be remembered that this sum of three annas, small as it may seem to most of the well-to-do urban classes, is earned by working off hours and, in the language of a well-known economist, stands in the same category as earning due to saving, the saving here of course being the saving of time.

Charity administered through an organisation is so impersonal that the absence of the human touch in it takes away half its charm. Then again, the greatest drawback of indiscriminate charity is that, without intending to do so, it encourages mendicancy in the recipients. The claim of the *khadi* programme to our consideration lies in the fact that it does neither the one nor the other. It offers just living wages in return for hard work and thus helps honest and self-respecting poverty.

Another thing brought out is that among the workers we find about 50 per cent. Hindus, 20 to 25 per cent. Muslims, and 15 to 20 per cent. Harijans, while the residue is drawn from other social and religious groups. Very often working side by side and under the same beneficent organisation which extends equal treatment to all, the *khadi* programme is bound to forge where it is absent, and to strengthen where it exists, those chains of mutual respect, toleration and sympathy which alone can destroy suspicion and jealousy from which arise communal passion, communal ill-feeling and communal violence.

If the *khadi* programme was called into being by humanitarian instincts, if at the beginning political passion popularised it, if later on the gospel of village self-sufficiency lent it vigour, the desire to utilise it as a means of restoring good feelings and harmony is equally powerful among many for patronising the coarse but costly cloth in preference to the fine and comparatively cheap mill cloth.

With this background, the publication, by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, of more than two hundred articles and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi on the *khadi* movement is most timely. The present writer, who read most of them when they appeared in various periodicals, from time to time, feels it necessary to compliment the compiler for the very great care and discrimination with which the present collection, a most representative one, has been made. Read attentively between the lines and with some knowledge of the circumstances which brought them forth, the book loses its outward character of a mere collection of certain writings and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi concerned with the *khadi* programme and assumes a new importance as a more or less connected account of the evolution of the technique of *khadi* and a history of the movement.

Covering about 650 pages, "Economics of Khadi" has a thought-provoking foreword from the pen of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and an index which makes it easy for the busy man to find out the views of Mahatma Gandhi on one or other of the many aspects of this growing and truly nation-wide movement. Produced in the sober and severely simple style for which the Navajivan Press of Ahmedabad is well-known, the price has been fixed at Rs. 4.

The present writer would ask every one interested in the economic aspect of Indian nationalism to give a careful perusal to the contents of this volume.

FRANCIS THOMPSON AND HIS "HOUND OF HEAVEN"

CYRIL MODAK, M.A.

"Bounding I came withered at heart."
—Aeschylus

TO stand, brush in hand before an easel, ready to give form for the first time to the haunting vision of one's soul, and to see all around imposing portraits of renowned masters who at that very instant may be painting with infinitely greater skill dreams that have had time to mature, must be a paralysing handicap. It was precisely under such a handicap that Francis Thompson began his career as a poet. It was an age when Tennyson still wore the wreath of the Laureateship, when Browning still teased his readers into thought, when Swinburne's dulcet songs still charmed young Oxford undergraduates. It was an age when Meredith still speculated in sonorous verse, when Yeats, the Irish poet, and Bridges the future poet-laureate, still tried untried measures. It was an age when Coventry Patmore had become the hero of many young hearts, when Alice Meynell had succeeded Elizabeth Barrett-Browning with a newer lyre. In such an age Francis Thompson found himself timidly fashioning for his song a pipe from some neglected reed. He could not restrain his soul that panted to pour itself in melody—

> "The wailful sweetness of the violin
> Floats down the hushed waters of the wind,
> The heartstrings of the throbbing harp begin
> To long in aching music."

And hard as circumstances pursued, and much as he endeavoured to flee, and great as the odds were against him, he could only say

> "Implacable sweet daemon, Poetry,
> What have I lost for thee!
> Whose lips too sensitively well
> Have shaped thy shrivelling oracle."

In the sleepless vigils of the night, among his wanderings in the kingdoms of literature, he was haunted by a voice that said " Sing !" So he sang and bid his songs go forth—

" Go, songs, for ended is our brief sweet play.
Go, children of swift joy and tardy sorrow :
And some are sung, and that was yesterday,
And some unsung, and that may be to-morrow."

" It was about the year, 1897," says Paul Elmer More,[1] " when his *New Poems* appeared with an American imprint, that the name of Francis Thompson began to be rumoured among us as a word of high esoteric meaning." Indeed, his name must have been ' a word of high esoteric meaning ' if it took thirty-eight years for it to travel across the Atlantic. For Francis Thompson was born on the 16th of December, 1859. His father was a doctor, and a convert to the Catholic Church. In his Essay on Shelley, Francis gives us a glimpse of his childhood. " Know you what it is to be a child ?" he asks ; and answers himself, " It is to have a spirit yet streaming from the waters of baptism ; it is to believe in love, to believe in loveliness, to believe in belief ; it is to be so little that the elves can reach to whisper in your ear ; it is to turn pumpkins into coaches, and mice into horses, lowness into loftiness, and nothing into everything, for each child has fairy godmother in his own soul ; it is to live in a nutshell and to count yourself the King of infinite space ; it is

" To see a world in a grain of sand,
And a heaven in a wild flower,
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
And eternity in an hour."

At seven years of age he was reading poetry, adventuring in the minds of Shakespeare and Coleridge. He was alive intellectually at an incredibly early age. And yet he was happy to play with dolls. He never relinquished his toys. Among the few possessions at his death was a cupboard theatre, wonderfully devised. On the one hand is a housemaid's recollection of the boy on the top of the ladder in the book-cupboard oblivious to her call to meals ; on the other, is his confession, " By eloquence and fine-diplomacy I wrung from my sisters

[1] Paul Elmer More—Shelburne Essays, VII Series, p. 153.

a concession of dolls...I dramatized them. I fell in love with them." Contradictions were writ large in his constitution.

At eleven years of age Francis was sent to Ushaw College, four miles from Durham. Father George Phillips [2] records his impression of the silent boy. "I was his master in Lower Figures, and remember him very well as a delicate-looking boy with a somewhat pinched expression of face, very quiet and unobtrusive, and perhaps a little melancholy." At Ushaw, as all through his life, he felt most comfortable when in his own company. Naturally he failed to find the friends he might have appreciated at Ushaw. Henry Patmore, son of Coventry, in a class above him, would have proved a good friend. But his tongue 'was tenaciously disciplined in silence, and he made no friends.'

After the vacation of 1879 Francis went from Seminary to College. Already in 1872 his prowess in English was officially reported. But he was so reserved, so shy, that somebody else had to recite for him his essay, 'declaiming the storming of the Bridge at Lodi, amid applause in the Hall on a College-speaking day.' Even in some of his college-verses the passion for poetry is evident. Seizing his manuscript book in leisure hours he says,

"Think my soul, how we were happy with it in the days of yore,
When upon the golden mountains we saw throned the mighty sun,
When the gracious moon at night-time taught us deep and mystic lore,
And the holy, wise old forests spoke to us and us alone."

With one chosen companion Francis delighted to undertake long excursions. It must have been during one of these tramps that he paused to make friends with the 'nodding laburnum :—

"The laden laburnum stoops
In clusters gold as thy hair,
The maiden lily droops
The fairest where all are fair."

He was always preoccupied with his own thoughts, always too engrossed in painting magical dreams to pay attention to his immediate surroundings or keep count of time. So in September, 1871,

[2] E. Meynell—The Life of Francis Thompson, p. 13.

Fr. Tatlock wrote and told Dr. Thompson that Francis was too absent-minded to make a good priest. Fr. Tatlock, perhaps, did not wait to consider that the absent-minded boy had an equally high, if not a higher calling, and would some day become a priest in the temple of poetry.

The disappointed parents decided that medicine should be the future career of Francis, and accordingly, in 1877 he was sent to Manchester to study medicine at Owen's College. "Home from his daily lectures," says his biographer,[3] "he would, not seldom, shut himself up in his room. His cloister was solitude, and in that painful sanctuary he hid himself from success." He conformed little to the style of the medical student. He made a pretence of study, but read poetry and enacted his part in unreal realities. In 1879 Francis fell ill and recovered after a long attack of fever. About this time too, for no special reason whatever, his mother gave him a copy of the "Confessions of an English Opium-eater." It was, as decreed, her last gift, for she died the following year; and the confessions of one English opium-eater became the solace of another. Francis had probably during his illness taken laudanum for the first time. Now he found in De Quincey an elder brother, a guide. With eager eyes Francis read Quincey's eulogy, "Thou only givest those gifts to man; and thou hast the keys to Paradise, O just, subtle, and mighty opium." The result was that he failed to be a doctor and returned home to face a disappointed and perplexed father. Dr. Thompson warned him that if he did not improve the army would be the only hope for him. Without a word, like Coleridge, off he went to be a soldier. But before long he returned late one night, silent as he had returned before.

He had now to meet his father and discuss his prospects. He was conscious of his repeated failures. He was oppressed with a sense of shame. The next day Francis was not found in the house. Instead his sister found a note on her dressing table telling her that he was going to London. But even in a mood of despair his hesitation overcame him. He lingered for a few weeks in Manchester. Finally he wrote home for the fare to London. It was sent. With Blake in one pocket and Aeschylus in the other he made the journey. Even so had De Quincey gone to the metropolis.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

It was London now. It was London where that ' wonderful boy ' Chatterton had despaired and perished. It was London where De Quincey had wandered up and down the streets like an aristocrat in rags. Francis tried the job of a " Collector " in the book-trade. But he preferred the Guildhall Library to any " Situation," and soon found himself starving, in tatters, standing in London, friendless, homeless, penniless. What men must this poet have met at common lodging-houses ? In what company must he have slept in the archways ? He would sell matches, he would fetch cabs, often his weekly earnings were only six pence. The time came when the nights were an anguish of unwelcome vigils, and the days a continuation of uneasy starvation. His biographer [4] tells us, " After seven nights and days of this kind he is deep immersed in insensibility. Pain, its own narcotic, throbs to painlessness. Touch and sight and hearing are brokenly and dimly experienced, save when some unknown touch switches on the lights of full consciousness. Having spent many a day on the streets, dizzy, faint, hopeless, out of the confusion there came one of those officious voices, ' Is your soul saved?' Francis awakened for a moment and replied ' What right have you to ask me that question ?' Nor did the seeker of unregenerate souls have the courtesy to wait to minister to the man being starved to death."

And so relentless destiny taught him how incredibly slow is death to a starving man. He would sometimes work for a bootblack. He would hold horses perhaps as Shakespeare is said to have done. Or he would stand and wait, miserable, sad, hungry:

" Forlorn, and faint, and stark,
I had endured through watches of the dark
The abashless inquisition of each star,
Yea, was the outcast mark
Of all those heavenly passers' scrutiny ;
Stood bound and helplessly
For time to shoot his barbed minutes at me ;
Suffered the trampling hoof of every hour
In night's slow-wheeled car ;
Until the tardy dawn dragged me at length
From under those dread wheels ; and bled of strength,
I waited the inevitable last."

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

It was at such a time perhaps that, like De Quincey, he was befriended by a girl of the streets. "Two outcast women," says Meynell,[5] "were to these two outcast men the sole ambassadors of the world's gentleness and generosity." Even degradation cannot destroy the tenderness of the mother-heart. When 'the streets were no longer crowded with shameful possibilities,' this girl would flee from the cruel world to the only tryst that her heart enjoyed, and she would take her beggar, Francis, to the shelter of her loyalty and love. Outcasts and victims, they would sit and marvel that they still had joys to share, that each could still make the other happy. She found in him, for the first time, a man who treated her as a human being, offered her the tribute of a loyal devotion, so unlike, in Aeschylean phrase, the "savage-thoughted men" she knew. She repaid him with affection and graces "as lovely as a child's and as unhesitating as a saint's." A heart capable of pity such as hers must have been, deserves the pity that said, "Where have thy accusers gone? —I too will not condemn thee." She was, as Francis Thompson says of her,

> "A spring-flower ; but a flower
> Fallen from the budded coronal of spring,
> And through the city streets blown withering."

And he goes on, with what a touch of gratitide,

> "She passed—O brave, sad, lovingest, tender thing !
> And of her own scant pittance did she give
> That I might eat and live,
> Then fled, a swift and trackless fugitive."

Learning one day from him that he had found friends she pleaded with him to leave her and go. "They will not understand our friendship," she said--and without warning disappeared. In "the mighty labyrinths of London" he sought her as De Quincey had sought his Ann. Gallant and brave as she was, she proved her matchless nobility and "fled a swift and trackless fugitive," only to set him free. Never was she found. Never did Francis Thompson meet her:

> "And she was gone, my sole, my fair,
> Ah, sole my fair, was gone !
> Methinks, throughout the world 'twere right
> I had been sad alone ;

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

And yet, such sweet in all things' heart,
And such sweet in my own !"

It was in 1886 that Macmaster, a Church-warden of St.-Martin-in-the-Fields persuaded him to accept employment at his bootmaker's shop. But it did not take long to discover that Francis could not succeed either in making or selling boots. After a few months the drug-habit started again and he was dismissed. As he stood on the doorstep of the shop—" Still, as I turned inwards,' he says, " to the echoing chambers, or outwards to the wild, wild night, I saw London extending her visionary gate to receive me, like some dreadful mouth of Acheron."

In February, 1887, some mitigating circumstances seemed to have intervened. " With a few shillings to give me breathing space," he says, " I began to decipher and put together the half-obliterated manuscript of ' Paganism.' He came simultaneously to his last page and his last half-penny and went to drop the manuscript in the post-box of " Merry England," edited by Wilfred Meynell, his biographer's father. After a few months the preoccupied editor ventured to read the uninvitingly soiled manuscript. It was decided that the author be asked to call for proof and to discuss the chances of future work. To that letter came no reply and publication was necessarily postponed. The editor decided to print " The Passion of Mary," one of the several poems which had been sent with the essay. A few days later, in April, 1888, Mr. Meynell received a letter from Francis. To this he replied and repeated his invitation to Francis to arrange for regular work. After a few days Mr. Meynell himself went in search.

Finally Francis put in an appearance. " The door opened, and the stranger came half in. The door closed, but he had not entered. Again it opened, again it shut. At the third attempt a waif of a man came in," says his biographer.[6] Surely, such an unkempt and ragged figure was the last thing expected. He had no shirt beneath his coat. Broken shoes covered his bare feet. He stood in silence. His reserve was not easily to be conquered. But the editor had won the poet's confidence, for Francis visited him occasionally. It was, however, only six months later that he wrote again for " Merry England." This time it was " Bunyan in the light of Modern Criticism."

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Meanwhile, he needed medical attention, for physically he was a wreck. Mr. Meynell prevailed on him to go to a private hospital. It was about this time too that he renounced opium. In 1889 he wrote the " Ode to the Setting Sun." When it was received by the editor, Wilfred and Alice Meynell and a young friend, Blackburn, took the first train to see the poet, now at Storrington Priory, to congratulate him on this first undeniable proof of his powers. Strange as it may seem, all the pangs of bitterest poverty, all the sorrow and disaster he had suffered, had not cramped the creative urge in him, had not killed the passion for poetry in his blood. His tragic experiences marred his appearance but not his sensibility, not his young ardour, not his soul. In the company of tramps and even vagabonds he had been trained into a *Seer*. Pain had taught him to sing. It was his heart that spoke when in the " After-Strain " of his " Ode to the Setting Sun " he said,

" Even so, O Cross! thine is the victory.
Thy roots are fast within our fairest fields;
Brightness may emanate in Heaven from thee,
Here thy dread symbol only shadow yields."

Yet it was a full and complete realization of the significance of suffering which only gave him the soul-energy to climb the ' stairway of the stars :'

" Therefore, my spirit clings
Heaven's porter by the wings,
And holds
Its gated golds
Apart."

It was now that he made strenuous though impulsive and desultory attempts to settle down to serious writing. In Mr. and Mrs. Meynell he found friends who were loyal councillors who were wise. To their untiring sympathy and patient affection he owes his success as a writer. In 1893, his first volume of " Poems " was published. In 1894, Coventry Patmore wrote an article in the *Fortnightly* about the new poet. " Unlike most poets of his quality," said Patmore,[7] " who have usually had to wait a quarter of a century or more for adequate recognition, this poet is pretty sure of a wide and immediate

[7] Quoted by Meynell, *Ibid.*, p. 106.

acknowledgment." "Sister Songs," published in 1895, evoked from Arnold Bennett [8] the confession, "I declare that for three days after this book appeared I read nothing else. I went about repeating snatches of it—snatches such as—

> 'The innocent moon, that nothing does but shine,
> Moves all the labouring surges of the world.'"

He had embarked on a literary career, and it seemed smooth sailing, disturbed only with an occasional unfavourable remark from Andrew Lang or Henley or Arthur Symons. For the most part he was writing poems, reviewing books, making friends slowly, and coming into his own. Coventry Patmore and George Meredith had become intimate friends. He welcomed in the "Academy" the poetry of Sturge More and Alfred Noyes. Every day he grew into the full-orbed realization that

> "The angels keep their ancient places:—
> Turn but a stone, and start a wing,
> 'Tis ye, 'tis your estranged faces,
> That miss the many splendoured thing."

A few years before his death he was afflicted with periods of misery and dejection. In one mood he could say with Coleridge, "The stimulus of conversation suspends the terror that haunts my mind, but when I am alone, the horrors that I have suffered from laudanum... almost overwhelm me." In another mood he could quote De Quincey. In 1906 he visited the Monastery at Crawley, where his friends had offered him hospitality for many years. From Crawley he wrote to his biographer, "I am a helpless waterclogged and dismasted vessel, drifting without power to guide my own course, and equally far from home whichever way I turn my eyes."

In the following year it became evident that he was again in urgent need of a change. He went with Everard Meynell to Wilfrid Blunt at Newbuildings. He returned weaker. Mr. Meynell prevailed on him to go to the Hospital of St. John and St. Elizabeth. Consumption was the mortal disease. He had grown to nothing more than skin and bone. He was too weak to be allowed much less than his habitual doses of laudanum. Meticulously scrupulous not to prove

[8] Quoted by Meynell, *Ibid.*, p. 109.

obtrusive, he spent his days alone, and alone at dawn on the 13th of November, 1907, met his 'pilot face to face.' Love was not there to 'lend an hour of cheering' to this lonely though indomitable soul. True to his 'outcast love' he had lived an outcast outside the gates of Love. Alone he struggled, suffered alone and alone escaped, but left his friends and his admirers to be busy not with his ashes, but his songs. In his coffin were roses from Meredith's garden inscribed with Meredith's testimony, 'A true poet.'' Wilfred Meynell, his loyal friend wrote, " Devoted friends lament him no less for himself than for his singing." And he added with a touch of genuine feeling, " But let none be named the benefactor of him who gave to all more than any could give him." And so having grappled with life; having eaten of the forbidden fruit of dreams; having tasted a full share of the 'Sacramental wine of pain;' broken in body; this gallant though unfortunate poet snatched enough breath to cry,

" Love! I fall into the claws of Time,
But lasts within a leavèd rhyme
All that the world of me esteems—
My withered dreams, my withered dreams."

and he fell by the way. But his dreams are not withered and shall not wither as long as the English language lives, as long as men's hearts still strain after Beauty and still ache for love. Even so he says,

" Fling from thine ear the burning curl, and hark
A song thou hast not heard in Northern day;
For Rome too daring, and for Greece too dark,
Sweet with wild things that pass, that pass away."

" His greatest poem," says Marguerite Wilkinson,[9] "is that stupendous mystical ode, 'The Hound of Heaven.' Majestic in movement and sublime in thought, it is a great gift to mankind." She goes on to say " *The Hound of Heaven* merits careful study...." In deference to her opinion, at least, we shall endeavour to examine Thompson's great ode and see what magical quality, what intellectual or emotional values, what mystical intuition it possesses that in spite of Mr. H. D. Traill's verdict " A 'public' to appreciate *The Hound of*

[9] M. Wilkinson—" Contemporary Poetry," pp. 234-35.

Heaven is to me inconceivable," in three years after the poet's death this poem in separate edition should have sold fifty thousand copies.

Perhaps, Professor Paul Elmer More [10] is right in remarking that the opening verse of "The Hound of Heaven" seems to have been suggested partly by Aeschylus' Erinnys 'that like a hound follows its prey' and partly by the Psalmist's familiar words "Whither shall I go from thy spirit? Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" Yet the unique effect of this opening stanza is original. It is, as the critic observes, "a stanza which pulses in the memory like the sound of a bell swaying amidst a waste of obscure waters."

> "I fled Him down the nights and down the days;
> I fled Him down the arches of the years;
> I fled Him down the labyrinthine ways
> Of my own mind; and in the midst of tears
> I hid from Him, and under running laughter."

The daring figure used to portray Divine Love's uncompromising quest for the soul of man, heightens the intensity of the poem. Believing with the mystics that man's soul is destined for God, he feels 'those strong feet' pursuing him, and

> "With unhurrying chase
> And unperturbèd pace,
> Deliberate speed, majestic instancy.
> They beat—and a voice beat
> More instant than the feet—
> 'All things betray thee, who betrayest me.'"

Thus the soul starts the long flight of elusion with a consciousness of disloyalty, with a sense that the very act of evasion is a betrayal:

> "I pleaded, outlaw-wise,
> By many a hearted casement, curtained red,
> Trellised with intertwining charities."

Shelter is not to be found in the 'charity' of any human heart. Human comradeship fails as a substitute. There is no alternative. A decision has to be made. And yet the fear that surrender to Divine

[10] Paul Elmer More—Shelburne Essays, VII Series, p. 163.

Love will demand complete self-abandon makes the soul flutter with hesitancy,

" For, though I knew His love who followèd,
Yet was I sore adread
Lest, having Him, I must have naught beside."

And hence

" Across the margent of the world I fled,
And troubled the gold gateways of the stars,
Smiting for shelter on their clanged bars ;
Fretted to dulcet jars
And silvern chatter the pale ports o' the moon.
I said to dawn: Be sudden—to eve: Be soon ;
With thy young skiey blossoms heap me over
From this tremendous Lover."

An immediate awareness of God realized with an overwhelming emotional emphasis that makes speech seem beggarly, is the heritage of mysticism. Francis Thompson shared this heritage. He was born into the tradition of mystics like Crashaw, St, Teresa of Spain, Metchild of Magdebury, Angela of Foligno, Chaitanya of Bengal. And he knew "Fear wist not to evade as Love wist to pursue." He heard " Nought shelters thee who will not shelter me." Wherever he looked, in the passionate heart of man, in the gentle eyes of children, in the tender beauty of nature, he was conscious only of the Divine Approach. As he says in "Sight and Insight,"

" From sky to sod
The world's unfolded blossom smells of God."

The very gates within which he sought refuge assumed the shape of haunting spectres. In his distress he cries:

" Come then, ye other children, Nature's share
With me (said I) your delicate fellowship ;
Let me greet you lip to lip,
Let me entwine with you caresses,
Wantoning
With our Lady-Mother's vagrant tresses,

Banqueting
With her in her wind-walled palace,
Underneath her azured dais,
Quaffing as your taintless way is
From a chalice
Lucent weepings out of the dayspring."

It is a cry to Nature as beautiful in the glowing enthusiasm as Shelley's to the skylark,

"Teach me half the gladness
That thy brain must know;
Such harmonious madness
From my lips would flow:
The world would listen then as I am listening now."

And for a season 'in her wind-walled palace' he quaffs 'from a chalice lucent weepings out of the dayspring.' But abiding solace is not. It is that experience which mystics call 'the dark night of the soul' described vividly by Suso and Richard Rolle of Hampole. It is a period when the listless anguish of loneliness is made only more acute by a sense of guilt and the thought that the love of God is out even that moment in quest of every individual 'self.'

"Naked I wait thy love's uplifted stroke!" he cries. Rabindranath Tagore[11] expresses the same thought thus, "I have had my laughter and songs in wayside booths and stately halls, now that you have come into my life, make me weep—see if you can break my heart." It is a surrender that amounts to self-abandonment:

"My harness piece by piece thou hast hewn from me,
And smitten me to my knee;
I am defenceless utterly."

And using with remarkable felicity the allusion to Samson he takes the burden of the blame on himself,—

"In the rash lustihead of my young powers
I shook the pillaring hours
And pulled my life upon me."

[11] Rabindranath Tagore—"Lover's Gift and Crossing," No. 25.

There could have been no more touching or more poetic expression of penitence. He confesses that he has been to blame for the misfortunes that have overshadowed his life. But the heart scarred by many a pain, by many an affliction, asks

> " Designer infinite ! —
> Ah ! must thou char the wood ere thou canst limn with it?"

Many a tried and tired heart has felt what Thompson articulates, but the gift of expression is not as common. Thompson is the mouthpiece of the mute millions who suffer and endure in silence and the world knows them not. His poems are not constructed around epic themes. But they express, sometimes with Miltonic majesty, the common pangs, the common heartaches, the common striving toward nobler destinies. When Shelly said " Our sincerest laughter with some pain is fraught, " he was thinking of those like himself who idly

> " Look before and after
> And pine for what is not."[11]

But when Thompson says,

> " Heaven and I wept together
> And its sweet tears were salt with mortal mine "

he is speaking for those countless heroes who have emerged from their Gethsemanes victorious, who have spoken to the star-strewn silences through many a dark and cheerless night, and have sought in their lonely grief some Invisible Comradeship. What is often mere rhetoric in Shelley is in Thompson the expression of real experiences. " Sincerity and Conscience," says Watts-Dunton [12] " are two angels that bring to the poet the wonders of the poetic dream." At least no one who knows Thompson's life would doubt the applicability of Watts-Dunton's words to Thompson's poetic-dreams, even though it would be very difficult to be as categorical in the case of many another poet. It was this tendency in poets to exaggerate, to employ expressions which lacked the vitality of a corresponding insight, which made Plato banish them from his Republic. And the fact that Homer's poetic world has survived Plato's Republic only proves that

[12] T. Watts-Dunton—" Poetry," p. 35.

imaginative literature has a way of living in the hearts of men, when logical abstractions, however abstruse and profound, fade into oblivion. But when imagination is used to heighten the literary effect, it is essential that the poet have some real and not imaginary experience to use as a corrective. The imaginary sorrows of Byron's Lara fail to touch the chords of sympathy in any save hysterical readers. That is where Thompson scores. Even an extravagant metaphor takes on from his life a certain complexion of reality and genuineness. He felt so keenly, he suffered so intensely, he responded so sensitively that he has a right to use startling imagery. And so he says,

> " And now my heart is as a broken fount,
> Wherein tear-drippings stagnate, split down ever
> From the dank thoughts that shiver
> Upon the sighful branches of my mind."

But that is not the note on which Thompson ends. The presence of evil, ' Nature red in tooth and claw,' crushing defeat, enervating failure, the struggle, the fever and fret of sad humanity where we sit and hear each other groan obliged Buddha to seek the peace of Nirvana, made Schopenhauer believe in a capricious world will, compelled Byron to say " There's not a joy the world can give like that it takes away." But Thompson lived in another world while he walked this terrestrial globe ; he lived in a world where contradictions like Hegel's antitheses only help towards a higher and fuller synthesis, in a world where

> " Yet ever and anon a trumpet sounds
> From the hid battlements of Eternity."

As Kabir, an Indian mystic poet of the 14th century, says, " The Unstruck Drum of Eternity sounds, and Oh ! I am full of joy."

Such insight it was that gave Thompson the calm fortitude to say in " Anthem of Earth"

> " Though I the Orient never more shall feel
> Break like a clash of cymbals, and my heart
> Clang through my shaken body like a gong ;
> Nor ever more with spurted feet shall tread
> I' the winepress of song ; naught's truly lost
> That moulds to sprout forth gain."

It is this intellectual insight or mystical intuition into the very heart of reality which lends to Thompson's poetry an air of fearless, unconquerable dignity:

> He comes to the end of his flight.
> " Now of that pursuit
> Comes on at hand the bruit ;
> That voice is round me like the bursting sea."

We may fail to agree with his interpretation of a God who can say

> " And human love needs human meriting
> How hast thou merited—
> Of all man's clothed clay the dingiest clot ?
> Alack, thou knowest not
> How little worthy of any love thou art !
> Whom wilt thou find to love ignoble thee,
> Save me, save only me ?"

It may seem to us incongruous for Eternal Love to utter unlovely words such as these. But if Thompson lacks a sense of dramatic propriety he at least expresses his penitent mood without reservation. And with the mercurial alacrity of his darting mind he turns, and

> " Halts by me that football :
> Is my gloom after all,
> Shade of his hand outstretched caressingly ?"

The love that seemed like an unrelenting, untiring, unappeased sleuth hound bounding to track a fleeing Cain, is now seen to be the Divine Lover. " I am He whom thou seekest," He says, and adds " Thou dravest love from thee, who dravest me." How did he drive Love who tried to flee from Love ? How did he seek Love who endeavoured to evade Love ? Is Thompson inconsistent ? Paul Elmer More[13] says " Others may be affected differently, but I cannot accustom my mind to this inversion of the metaphor from one who seeks refuge against a pursuer to one who unwittingly drives away what he seeks." How does the God-pursued become the God-pursuing ? It is a sudden recognition in a flash of inner experience of the fact that his struggle

[13] Paul Elmer More—Shelburne Essays, VII Series, p. 164.

against a ' jealous God ' demanding a surrender of everything, was a quest for a ' loving God '; that his attempt to expel God from his life was to expel love from his heart. But in truth he craved for love: he craved for God. He fled from the traditional because he sought the living God of pulsating individual experience:

> " Hark to the Jubilate of the bird
> For them that found the dying way to life."

For, in Lionel Johnson's words,

> " Lonely unto the Lone I go,
> Divine, to the Divinity."

Perhaps Patmore[14] was right in declaring the "Hound of Heaven" to be " one of the very few ' great ' odes the language can boast." Perhaps Untermeyer[15] is not far from the truth in saying, "In a mystic circle.....the poem moves with the unhurried majesty of a Bach Chorale, building verse upon fugual verse in an unterrestrial architecture." Certainly, it could be said without fear of contradiction that Thompson captured the challenging cadence of martial music for his odes; that he ' toyed with a style that loved to toss the stars and swing constellations by the hair ' very much like that young, ill-starred, daring poet Rupert Brookes; that in spite of his revelry of riotous images dressed in extravagant archaisms he is seldom inartistic. Strange, too, as it may seem, some of the words Thompson minted have become current coin, and we find Dowson use his " roseal," George Wyndham use his " labyrinthine," and Mr. Asquith his " fuliginous."

Thompson was overtaken by rapidly moving throngs of ideas and images and the only way in which he could snare them and give them ' a local habitation and a name ' was by employing expressions which appealed to him regardless of all canons of usage. Another peculiar difficulty with him is that his poetry is the flower of his philosophy which draws its nourishment from the rich soil of his mystical nature. For example in a super-Berkeleyan mood he says,

> " .....Thou canst not stir a flower
> Without troubling a star."

[14] Quoted by Untermeyer, " Modern British Poetry," p. 232.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.

In a super-Neoplatonic strain he says,

" Not where the wheeling systems darken,
And our benumbed conceiving soars !
The drift of pinions, would we harken,
Beats at our own clay-shuttered doors."

Or again he is of the opinion that " Painting is the eye of Passion, Poetry is the voice of Passion, Music is the throbbing of her heart. For all beauty is passionate, though it be a passionless passion...." Perhaps the only escape for him from the abstruse, difficult style of Meredith's philosophic poetry lay in coining expressions and allowing himself ' the fullest play of purple-pompous tropes.'

Indeed, Francis Thompson did not realize how accurately he described himself in his "Essay on Shelley." Unconsciously he spoke for himself when he referred to Shelley as " enchanted child born into a world unchildlike, spoiled darling of nature, playmate of her elemental daughter; pard-like spirit beautiful and swift, laired amidst the burning fastness of his own fervid mind; bold foot along the verges of precipitous dream, light leaper from crag to crag of inaccessible fancies, towering genius whose soul rose like a ladder between heaven and earth with the angel of song ascending and descending it." If Shelley pleases one by the cloying sweetness of delicate melody and sensuous imagery, and Tennyson by the immaculate perfection of laboured artistry, if Meredith provokes thought by his crisp style of terse phraseology and Bridges by the skilful use of scrupulous technique, Francis Thompson catches the ear by the surging music of his daring soul, attracts the imagination by the splendid array of unstaled images. Misjudged at home, perhaps, he will make his appeal to the Oriental mind in the company of Goethe and Shelley and Calderon and Dante. He was the prophet of his own fate when he said,

" Poet ! still, still thou dost rehearse,
In the great fiat of thy verse,
Creation's primal plot ;
And what thy Maker in the whole
Worked, little maker, in thy soul
Thou work'st, and men know not."

Thompson did not tinker at old measures; he sang new songs. He did not try to refashion time-honoured themes; he expressed new visions of love. A lover of Beauty he declared to her

> " .....because I am so true,
> My Fair, to Heaven, I am so true to you."

For him morality is only beauty of behaviour, poetry is only beauty of thought. His poetry is his confession, for there he reveals himself with least reservation. Nor need he ever blush for a single line. Many of these utterances are indeed sublime enough to give Francis Thompson a passport to any land. Standing on the vantage ground of poetry let me lay on this English poet's grave the tribute of an Indian flower—a wild flower from my heart:

> " Impetuous, daring child, that on Olympus' height
> Stood wrapped in roseat mists of dawning day,
> With reed for trumpet challenging the night,
> To rout and scatter in impulsive play
> Her goblin train of doubt, fear, hunger, pain !
> You drained the opiate of a deathless dream
> From burning poppy of the Friston Plain ;
> You rushed to pay for Love's unmatched esteem
> A beggar's wealth, your heart ; you dared to strain
> Each quivering fibre of your being to hold
> Transcendent ' Love-Truth-Beauty ' —not in vain
> Called ' God ' —close captive in your soul ! O bold,
> Impetuous, daring child ! You plucked a star
> And toyed with it and wore it like a flower !

———

DOES CONSCIOUSNESS EXIST ?

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IN 1904, Professor James asked the question: Does consciousness exist ? The answer he gave is that it does not exist as an *entity*, although as a *function* it does. His treatment thus denies the existence of the personal self while re-asserting the reality of mind or minding. His polemical essay is directed against the so-called 'dualistic metaphysics' and Professor James asks whether the dualistic standpoint is really inescapable. The transcendentalism of Hegel and his followers does not appeal to him as any reliable solvent. He formulates his own theory of 'Radical Empiricism' to get over the difficulty. All epistemological and consequently, all metaphysical riddles, suggests James, can be solved by supposing a pure, neutral stuff of experience as the origin, and the so-called 'subject' and 'object' as retrospective constructions through axes of reference. That James has not fully succeeded in his attempts is evidenced by his methods of treatment of the problem of human immortality.[1]

We agree with Professor James so far as he treats mind as a conscious function merely. That mind is a substance is a theoretical blunder, mind is in reality a faculty of knowing.[2] But this does not go so far as to deny the reality and existence of the self. In practice, as in common speech, we, it is true, do not distinguish between mind and the subject of knowledge. It is up to philosophy to rationalize our thoughts and speeches. As students of that branch of knowledge we want to show reasons for our acceptance of the distinction between mind and the self and for our denial of mind in the sense of a spiritual substance. In the first place, let us ask: What is a spiritual substance ? Evidently, the idea of the substance in this context is a derived one. We experience the qualities of the objective world and believe that there is a support of those qualities—a material substance. We believe in that objective background because it is unthinkable that the qualities can exist by themselves. Regarding the nature

[1] William James, *Human Immortality*.
[2] My essay in the *Calcutta Review*, January, 1942, 'Mind as the Faculty of Knowing.'

of their support or substratum we have no definite say. We posit a spiritual substance in sharp contrast to the material substance definitely afterwards. Our conscious life begins with object-consciousness. The child is conscious of the not-self long before it rises to any consciousness of itself. In infant days, the not-self passes for the self in the child's mind. It is resistance accompanied with pain that corrects this knowledge as the child advances in age. Thus, though, we take the self as a positive turn and matter as something in the negative, the more proper way of speaking will be just the reverse of it. It is more reasonable to speak of the self as not-matter than to describe matter as the not-self. It may be that matter cannot speak for itself, cannot assert its claim to reality independently of ourselves. But it will be a serious mistake to disregard the fact that it is the 'dumb' matter that enables us to speak. Had there been no objective background, our so-called 'spiritual' selves would not learn or know. At first we know without rising to any retrospective consciousness. Retrospection is possible only at an advanced stage. In retrospection we discover ourselves against the objects we know. Thereupon, a tug-of-war ensues between the active subject and the 'dead' objective background—the 'occasion' of its activity. As we advance in knowledge the foster mother is taken, at first, for an abominable hag, then a much detested shadow and finally an illusion. So spoilt are we !

Before settling the question whether mind can be any spiritual substance, let us enquire then more closely into the exact import of the word 'spiritual' substance. The foregoing discussion leads us to believe that the idea of substance as spiritual is a derived one since it can arise only through a reactionary consciousness, the primary awareness being objective. The further fact to be noted here is that the spiritual substance cannot be accepted in the same sense as we accept the material substance, although it is by an analogy that we so describe it. The reason is this that while the 'dumb-matter' may be a substance in the sense of a 'support' of qualities, the spiritual substance, to be at all spiritual, must be more than a support of functions. The phrase 'support of functions' is a serious misnomer, because functions are not supported, they are *executed*. The spiritual substance, to be anything worth the name, must therefore be a functioner. Now, we ask the old question: Is mind a functioner ? The correct answer will be that it is not. Thus

far we agree with Professor James. Mind is always through minding—through *spacing* and *timing*,[1] and it cannot mean an agent that minds. There is no consciousness of mind as a functioner, but always of the ego or self as the subject. The personal element in knowledge is the pointer and this point to a subject of knowledge or the self. The word ' mind ' does not mean any person, it means a characteristic of living matter, or, as Professor James would say, a function of the 'grey substance ' or cerebrum. Hence, its synonymous use with the self is hardly allowable. Take an example. Suppose, I am knowing a table before me. Here table-consciousness is what primarily concerns me. We fully agree with Professor James when he maintains that undifferentiated experience antecedes all restrospective, reflective and therefore discriminative experiences. Hindu philosophy also speaks of undifferentiated or निर्विकल्पक perception. Kant also recognises it although he holds that knowledge, in the proper sense, is of the nature of judgment. What specifically is his meaning we shall discuss later on. Now, then primarily we have, in every case, an undifferentiated experience of the ' neutral ' type. By analysis we discover that the object of our knowledge is, say, a table. The same analytic or reflective awareness may tell us that the table has an 'occasion ' outside us and independent of ourselves. We cannot know the table, in the proper sense of knowing, whenever we so choose. Even, while perceiving it, we *feel* an *alienness* characterising it. Its source is thus felt to be alien and, in that sense, external. In this way, the consciousness of the object *as* object dawns upon our mind. Thus far our mind remains object-minded. It is through a reactionary turn of the same process of minding that we discover, later on, ourselves *as* minding it. This subjective drift reveals a person or persons as owning it and all the minding operation. The minding operation itself cannot stand for the subject ; rationally speaking, the function itself points beyond itself and to a functioner. In experience, therefore, the knower seems different from its knowing activity, the minder from minding. Kant maintained this distinction when he mentioned the former as the ' Unity of apperception ' and the latter as the faculty of knowing.

Is dualism then the only legitimate philosophical conclusion? Professor James thinks that it is not at all legitimate. He criticises

[1] See my essay in the *Calcutta Review*, January, 1942.

Kant and the neo-Kantians for their feverish and misdirected zeal in sticking to some form of 'ego-consciousness' as a *determining factor* of experience. He criticises both metaphysical and epistemological dualism, but herein he shoots beyond his mark. Schuppe, Rehmke, Nahorp, Münsterberg, Schubert-Soldern and others have reduced, says James, the transcendental ego to an 'utterly ghostly condition'—it being only the name for the fact that the content of experience is *known*. James is encouraged by his review of the neo-Kantian situation and ventures a 'radical' step into 'consistent' empiricism and announces that the ego is a 'non-entity,' and 'has no right to a place among first principles.' He adds, "Those who still cling to it are clinging to a mere echo, the faint rumour left behind by the disappearing 'soul' upon the air of Philosophy."[1] We do not think that this radical step of Professor James has been justified. Metaphysical dualism of Plato and Aristotle, of Descartes and his followers has grave difficulties, but a treatment of the epistemological dualism of Kant and the neo-Kantians on the same lines will hardly commend itself to a serious student of philosophy.[2] When James says that Kantianism in its most refined form even, views experience as 'indefeasibly dualistic in structure,' he describes correctly if the range of his description extends only to cases of retrospection. The Kantians do not deny that experience is at first undifferentiated and hence not realised as any relation.[3] The fundamental point of disagreement between the Kantian account and James's account of experience consists in this that while Kant and his followers explain the undifferentiated by the determinate experience, Professor James moves opposite-wise. Both James and Kant agree that experience implies two stages: (1) pure and undifferentiated experience, (2) retrospective and determinate experience. But Kant explains the first type by the second type and holds that the undifferentiated itself is the product of the synthesis of certain elements revealed in the second type, although not cognised as such before discrimination has started. Without a thing-in-itself *appearing* and a subject bring affected, even the simplest type of intuition is, according to Kant, impossible. But intuition as such is

[1] See 'Does Consciousness exist?' by Prof. James.

[2] See 'Critical Approach and Agnosticism' by the essayist in the *Calcutta Review*, February, 1941.

[3] The Undifferentiated in Kant will be perception. It involves a synthesis but the synthesis is not known.

never known as a product of synthesis. The factors or elements that are known in the determinate constitute and condition the indeterminate although in the latter they do not enter into consciousness. James accepts that the conceptual connections which we discover in retrospection were present in the primary awareness although they were not experienced then, as experience was not split up in that stage. Admitting that much James holds a view diametrically opposite to the Kantian. Kant, we have noted, explains the indeterminate by the determinate. James, on the other hand, explains the determinate by the indeterminate, which latter is truth absolute and incontestable from his sensationalistic view-point. James takes no pains in finding out the origin of the pure stuff of experience or sensation. Thus he says, " . . . The first part of reality . . . is the flux of our sensations. Sensations are forced upon us, coming we know not whence. Over their nature, order and quantity we have as good as no control."[1] This sensation is, at first, a pure ' that ' but it *readily* becomes a ' what,' (though not always) without the exercise of any mystical transcendental activity on the part of the subject.[2]

Thus, experience does not imply any inner duplicity, logical or metaphysical, according to James.[3] All dual conceptions are post-constructions, the primal stuff bring a stuff of ' pure experience.' Knowing or cognition is 'easily' explained by James as a particular sort of relation towards one another into which portions of pure experience may enter.[4] The so-called subject and the object together with all types of relations that may be discovered between them, later on, form elements of past experience of the pure sensational form. They evolve out of the pure stuff mechanically when retrospective constructions take place and the same neutral stuff is referred to two former groups of associates ending in the catastrophe that the self-same piece of experience is called in one reference the subject, in another reference, the object. Professor Hobhouse seems, to a certain extent, to echo James, so far as his view of sensation and retrospection is concerned. He does not accept the view of Green that thought *constitutes* the nature of the content apprehended. He, on the other hand, holds that thought-distinctions are possible only on

1 Pragmatism, p. 244.
2 Essays in Radical Empiricism, p. 93.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

the basis of the immediately given, 'simple apprehension.' The relations we bring out in judgment do not determine the contents of sense-experience; they themselves are constituted by the latter.

The main issue, then which the soul-believers have got to establish in support of their thesis, is showing that the psychological argument of Professor James and his followers, does not disprove the existence of consciousness as an absolute entity. For, once you accept that all experience *springs* from sensations instead of *beginning* with them, as Kant held, your 'self' will fare nothing better than a construction of experience. It will be reduced to a *tendency* of experience to move in one direction against another, a blind motion of the wave of experience upwards previous to its fall. That experience has such a tendency to move *in* and to move *out*, that it has an 'inner' and 'outer' movement was foreseen by Kant. The inward operation he characterised as time, the outward operation as space. But he overstripped evidence, as a consistent sensationalist like Professor James would say: for, the outward operation pointed beyond itself to a *ding-an-sich*, while the inward operation pointed beyond itself to a personal ego, the unity of apperception. James is vexed at the notion of a 'beyond' and as a consistent empiricist he wants to stick to the movement or tossing without attempting to know the *why* of the drift. If James can be refuted at all he can be refuted by a Kant. Refuting an opponent on other grounds than he holds is but a play of idiosyncrasy. A valid refutation consists in meeting an opponent on his own grounds and in showing that his explanation involves difficulties, remediable by a further working of the same process.

Kant held that all our knowledge begins with experience, although it does not spring from it. James, like Hobhouse, assumes certain 'hypothetical' circumstances as the causes of experience in its pure form. What those hypothetical circumstances or conditions are, neither James, nor Hobhouse, elaborately describes. This is significant. For, to remain consistent empiricist it is not advisable to pass beyond evidence and to hit upon any circumstances as definitely conditioning our unimproved simple consciousnesses of the sensational form. A genetic method can work under limitations only and hence both James and Hobhouse refrain from submitting any definite suggestion as to the determining factors of sensation. Granting that our life begins with sensation all reflective and judgmental consciousnesses must be

explained as the products of the simpler consciousnesses. Thus sensations are added to sensations, tendencies and pathways in the cerebrum are formed, habit and volition are generated, fancies and imaginations begin to work, and finally, all conceptual distinctions begin to function. Thus rational life emerges from the instinctive and irrational, Logic evolves from Psychology. All this is in complete accord with the fundamental principle of *Locke*, '*Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu.*' Kant agrees with this sensationalism so far as minding is concerned. The operation of mind or minding evolves in the way indicated by these empiricists. He completely disagrees with the empiricists when they confuse between minding and the self and hold that the 'self' is also a product of evolution. The self, in its purity, as Reason, unconditional and *practical*, pre-exists the life of sensations. It is true that the consciousness of the personal self comes only at a later stage of our knowing life, only when we have formed definite methods of reaction but this does not disprove its existence from the beginning. The idealist Kant is more realistic in his explanation than most realists are. His refutation of Berkeley is as thoroughgoing as can be expected. Neither perception nor conception constitutes the *essence* or the *being* of a thing. This is true in the case of the personal self in the same way as it is true in the case of our objective surroundings. By seeing the table I do not create the table ; similarly, in being conscious of my personal self against my consciousness of the table, I do not make myself. Rather *my* seeing of the *table* would be impossible and theoretically inexplicable but for the being of the table and of myself.

With James, 'pure' experience is the origin and it is the only existent ; neither awareness as a spiritual entity nor the physical thing has any existence.[1] The same neutral stuff of 'pure' experience, taken in one context reveals a knowing subject, in another context, a known content. Taken in the 'knowing'-way, then, we have awareness and in the 'known'-way, or objective way, the physical or mental object. All this is excellent, but if we ask what *takes* it in such *ways*, we are told that such 'takings' are subjective acts initiated by will. Thus James says, we act upon our pure experience, "and the doubling of it in retrospection into a state of mind and a reality

[1] Mental agents and physical objects are, according to James, mere pragmatic concepts, *Pragmatism*, pp. 90-92.

intended thereby, is just one of the acts."[1] Now, if we ask James to tell us the 'reason' of this act of volition, what answer shall we receive? James will say that we act in that way not because *we are anything*, and capable of performing such acts, but because certain indescribable mechanical tendencies have been formed by the repetition of sensation, producing in our minds an illusion of 'ourselves.' This 'bad' explanation is *pragmatically* useless and following James, we may refute it on that ground alone. But there are certain other discrepancies in the explanation which we want to point out before we close. James held that neutral experience when read together with a particular group of 'associates' gives the idea of a subject's awareness and when taken in some other group of associates gives the idea of a physical object. Two points are to be noted here. In the first place, if prior to *its* relation to the subjective group of associates no consciousness *is*, and if *its* objective reference needs a different group of associates, then something must be hidden in the nature of those groups which makes the *neutral experience* speak in those unknown languages. Moreover, the associates themselves, being elements of past experience, before they finally assumed the subjective or the objective rôle, pointed to, and got related to a prior subjective or an objective group. If this process of analysis is carried to its furthest logical limits we must face a situation where along with the neutral sensation a subject and an objective 'occasion' will stand side by side. Thus after having tasted enough of the non-dualistic 'Radical Empiricism,' we, following the drive of its much vaunted logic, go back to dualism. In the second place, if the neutral experience be not internally a synthesis of the subjective and the objective elements why in retrospection should it move now in the subjective way, then, in the objective way? The criticism made by Prof. B. H. Bode on this point seems appropriate.[2]

In his essay on 'Human Immortality' James, following Fechner, admits the possibility of mind or soul pre-existing the brain. He further half-believes in such phenomena as religious conversion, providential leadings in answer to prayers, instantaneous healings, premonition, apparition at the time of death, mediumistic capacities and so on. In his 'A Pluralistic Universe' he seems to believe in

[1] *Essays in Radical Empiricism*, p. 24.
[2] B. H. Bode, *Pure Experience and the External World*, Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods, Vol. II, 1905, p. 128.

substantive plural selves and in a substantive deity, although consistent to his psychological view-point, he holds that the essence of such selves is constituted by 'streams' of consciousness. To a student of James's philosophy, his metaphysical views seem to be at variance with his fundamental psychological and epistemological position. As a believer in the doctrine of evolution and in hereditary instincts, James seems to admit the continuity of life and of consciousness. Thus James may be held as being unsuccessful in proving his thesis that consciousness does not exist as an entity or that there is no other stuff besides the 'neutral stuff' of pure experience.

James is right so far as he takes minding or the knowing act as dependent on a psychological process of evolution. He is wholly wrong when he confuses between mind and minder and treats the latter also as a product of experience. James is not, however, alone in this field. Russell, evidently following James, asks, "Is not the idea of an agent, as distinct from the act, a superstition—a relic of the old fanciful metaphysics?" Russell has no doubt that the distinction is irrational. The Yogācāra school of Buddhistic philosophy holds that although reality is momentary consciousness, still, under the influence of ignorance, we look upon it as a synthetic unity having duration in time. The subjective references and the objective references are based on superstition. There is no knower and no object, all that there is, is a chain of momentary consciousness. The variety in knowing is explained by the Yogācāra school by a potential mind or what it otherwise calls Ālaya-Bijñāna. The potential mind is admitted to escape solipsism. Thus the function alone is real, the functioner and the object are fictions of the understanding. Russell, following James, says, "The person is not an ingredient in the single thought, he is rather constituted by relations of the thoughts to each other and to the body."[1]

After what we have said in connection with our criticism of Professor James it will require only a few words in addition to dispense with the above contentions. To criticise a rival explanation as superstitious does not go so far as to disprove it. Ingenuity is wasted labour where it contradicts life and normal experiences. Reflection reveals to us a personal ego that pre-existed the particular knowing situation and that makes the given situation articulate and meaningful

[1] Analysis of Mind, p. 18.

by owning it. It cannot be any construction out of a chain of atomic conscious units. If the idea of this abiding self be a relic of exploded metaphysics, the idea of the atomic selves is no less a fanciful notion—a repurcussion of the atomic theory of matter.

James himself admits that the relation between the brain and consciousness is not causal. At best the brain may be described as the transmitting centre of conscious efforts. Therefore, it is highly risky to say that consciousness is a physical product as Cabanis, Spencer and others held. Consciousness, we take account of by the genetic method, is empirical consciousness or sense-experience. This sense-experience may not be the only type of experience we have. What forbids us to suppose that the self in its purity is enlightened consciousness, that it exists and is always, that the empirical consciousness is its negation and that we may reclaim and realise consciousness in its purity once we have checked the movement of modifying consciousness ?[1] May we not conclude with Wordsworth :

> 'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting ;
> The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting
> And cometh from afar ;
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> From God, who is our home.'[2]

[1] Patanjali—

योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः। तदा द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानम्।

[2] Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood.

FASTI

TIL SANKRANT

(Also called Makara Sankranti)

BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF, B.A.

Three steps did Vishnu take, thrice did he set down his foot.
—*Rig Veda*

1

The sun has smote the sign of Capricorn,
As erst he did. To ages, yet unborn,
He still shall urge—man think but as they feel—
The golden circuit of his chariot wheel.

2

He makes the seasons that all men obey,
Makes night still follow on the hulls of day,
And makes our years, that swiftly changing pass,
Makes grass, and, also flesh, alas! that's also grass.

3

We mark the earlier coming of the night,
The waning moon, the sky with stars bedight,
We mark the later coming of the dawn,
The lark's song and the dew-besprinkled lawn.

4

We mark, by stages imperceptible,
The days growing longer, by a grain of 'til':
Our day's a year, our year is but a day,
To watchers in the clustered Milky Way.

5

The ancient Rishis, with inquiring eye,
Watched harvest ripen, scanned the domed sky,
And marked the seeming circuit of the sun,
And, from the myriad Many, reached the One.

6

And scribed in cryptic Shlokas, cunningly,
What all may read, but only few may see
Their hidden import. Plato dimly guessed,
From borrowed light, the knowledge they possessed.

7

They taught the common people here
The secrets of the vast ethereal sphere:
Taught also that the proud is also weak,
And truly strong the humble, and the meek.

8

These learnt, by word of mouth, what other men
Do hardly learn from men of ink and pen;
These hear, these feel, and, from their souls, believe;
These have no doubts, nor vainly wish, nor grieve.

9

The sun now northward turns his chariot wheel.
He knows no sects in his vast common weal.
He girds not at man's short-lived vanities.
Man thinks, and sees, or only thinks he sees.

10

He does not grudge what rich man eat,
But makes the labourer's daily bread taste sweet.
He makes the widow's mite be a sacred still,
And gold less heavy than a grain of 'til.'

11

And so to-day, in town and village street,
At sage Vyasa's and Valmiki's feet,
The common people hear the bard recite
Ramayan through the lessening hours of night.

12

Not Mammon reigns, no Belial rout
Ramps the low market square with bestial shout.
Lewd song none sings, libidinous,
To brutish ears in hooting omnibus.

13

The pious housewife, now, with homely skill,
Makes sugared sweets, in each a grain of ' til,'
Star-like embroidered, chaste confectionary,
Of various hue, but chief of saffron dye.

14

Loud bruit of radios rules man. Vulgarly
Posters allure th' unwary passer by.
The soul of man, strong centred once, serene,
Gropes now for gods—' gods from the machine.'

15

Vishnu, Apollo, Isis—all is but a name—
The Todas of the Nilgiris adore the same:
Man flies the hound-hours straining at the leash,
For handgrip of a friend, and love, and joy, and peace.

16

It little matters whether in the East
A day is marked for fasting, or for feast,
Or other day is blazoned in the West.
Each knows his own business best.

17

Or whether from the spumèd froth o' th' sea
Sprung Venus—or Dhanwantari
Rose with a nectared chalice on his head,
Jayanta snatched, and swiftly fled.

18

Or gods and giants chased him from the main,
Scattering the nectar over field and plain,
Prayag, Hardwara, or Bengala's shore:
Nor you, nor I, may tell them ought else more.

19

Nathless the sun impels his chariot-wheel.
Sublimely good to man's frail common weal,
And friendship true,—and love—is fostered still,
By parting with a sugared grain of 'til'—
The deathless gods deal gently with man's stubborn-will.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad]

Indian P. E. N.

The P. E. N. All-India Centre, at a general meeting held at the University of Bombay voted unanimously for the election of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to succeed the late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore as President of the P. E. N. in India.

Teaching Hygiene in Schools

The necessity of medical inspection of school children and of teaching hygiene in schools was emphasized by the Central Advisory Board of Health at its concluding sitting held in Calcutta.

The Board endorsed the opinion of the Committee, jointly appointed by itself and the Central Advisory Board of Education that satisfactory arrangements for medical inspection of school children and treatment should form an essential part of an efficient system of education. In this connexion, the Board stressed the importance of all children attending schools being given a midday meal whether brought from their homes or provided at school.

It pointed out the vital importance of making the conditions of employment of teachers more attractive so as to draw the right type of men.

The importance of hygienic school buildings and of a high standard of personal cleanliness on the part of teachers in promoting healthy habits among children was also emphasized. In commending the report of the Committee for the consideration of provincial Governments, the Board, while recognizing the difficulties in giving full effect to it at once, expressed the view that a beginning should now be made.

Central Post-Graduate School of Nursing

Lt.-General Sir Gordon Jolly, Director-General of Indian Medical Service, drew the attention of the Board to the urgent need for increasing the number of nurses in India as well as improving the standard of their training, and emphasized the necessity of co-ordinating the activities of the different provincial Nursing Councils.

The Board suggested the establishment of a Central Nursing Council and recommended to the Central Government the constitution of such a Council. The Board also recommended the establishment of a Central Post-Graduate School of Nursing.

In order to prevent the haphazard growth of factories and other industrial concerns in residential localities, resulting in the creation of slums, pollution of air by smoke and the nuisance caused by the effluents of factories, the Board considered the question of zoning of industrial areas in cities.

Mr. Santoshkumar Basu, Minister, Public Health Department, Bengal, gave an account of the efforts that were being made in Calcutta to reduce the slum conditions prevailing in the city.

The Board recommended legislation for town-planning in provinces where the necessary measures had not already been taken, the appointment of a Director of Town-Planning and an expert committee at Provincial headquarters for offering technical advice to the Government, local authorities, and industrial concerns regarding housing schemes.

Students Evacuated from Burma

It is understood that the Government of India are in communication with the Provincial Governments concerned regarding the provision of facilities to students evacuated from Burma and Malaya to continue their studies in schools, colleges and universities in the various provinces of India.

Medical Schools in Bengal

There are nine medical schools in Bengal of which six are State institutions, and the remaining three are under private management, states the annual report of the Medical Schools in Bengal for the year 1939-40.

The report adds that the standard of training imparted in all these schools is up to the Final Licentiateship Examination of the State Medical Faculty of Bengal. There are training classes for compounder students in all the Government Medical Schools except at the Jackson Medical School at Jalpaiguri.

The total strength of licentiate students in the various medical schools at the beginning of the session was 2,991 as compared with 2,980 in the previous session. The total number of new admissions in licentiate course during the year was 750 including 114 Moslems as compared with 730 including 81 Moslems in the year 1938-39.

The number of students passing out in the Final Licentiateship Examination of the State Medical Faculty of Bengal in 1939-40, was 466 as against 364 in the previous year. There was provision for post-graduate training of Sub-Assistant Surgeons in the Campbell and the Dacca Medical Schools. During the year only seven District Board doctors took this training from the Dacca Medical School.

The conduct and attendance of the students of all the medical schools were generally satisfactory. There was no instance of any breach of discipline except in one case, *viz.*, an unfortunate hunger-strike by the students of the Dacca Medical School. This was, however, satisfactorily settled in a short time.

The only item of structural improvement worthy of note was the construction of a block of the hostel main buildings of the Bankura Sammilani Medical School for the accommodation of 40 students. It may be mentioned in this connexion that in spite of the department being handicapped in various ways owing to the war, the standard of efficiency in teaching remained unimpaired.

Students in China

Since their country was invaded by Japan, Chinese college students have been rendering valuable service to the national war effort from behind the front line. While institutions devoted to higher studies have endeavoured to continue their usual academic activities as far as possible, more attention is being paid now to scientific subjects. Subjects like philosophy, politics, economics and literature are still studied, but many are turning to science and doing research to produce new weapons of war. They cannot forget that it was a Chinese scholar who invented gun powder many centuries ago.

Engineering students who before the war studied the building of bridges and houses are now learning all about the construction of pill-boxes, pontoon bridges and bomb-proof shelters. Mechanical engineers are learning how to repair tanks, armoured cars and aeroplanes. Students of medicine are working extra hard and since the war began hundreds of them have graduated to strengthen the ranks of China's small Army Medical Service.

College students and graduates in China are not encouraged to join the fighting service. Their lives are too precious to be risked in the firing line for which China has an enormous reservoir of man-power.

Educational Concessions in Madras

The Government have decided to grant certain educational concessions to the children of soldiers who are taking part in the present war and are not in affluent circumstances and for the purposes of these concessions they regard as 'soldiers' all persons enrolled under the Indian Army Act whose terms of service include the liability to serve overseas in a theatre of war.

The children will be exempted from payment of tuition fees in all grades of educational institutions, elementary, secondary and collegiate, arts and professional, and will be granted an allowance for the purchase of books, etc., up to certain specified limits.

Soldiers' children, whose fees are remitted in a secondary school, will be admitted to the secondary school-leaving certificate examination free of fee.

The concessions will be available in all institutions, general and technical, whether under the management of Government, local bodies or private agencies. The Director of Public Instruction has been authorised to compensate private managements for the loss on account of the grant of exemption from fees to the children of soldiers.

Miscellany

MONEY-LEADEROCRACY

The class distinctions in India are generally on a par with those in Eur-America and elsewhere although India has a caste pattern which other regions do not have. The distinction between the 1000-2000-Rupee Brahman and the 150-500-Rupee Brahman or the 50-150-Rupee Brahman is no less profound than the distinction between the 2000-dollar American and 500-dollar American or the 50-dollar American. No parties or social functions are *as a rule* conceivable where the 1000-2000-Rupee men mix on intimate terms with the 150-500-Rupee men. The occasions of such intercourse come really few and far between. The caste-functions, such as marriage and post-mortem memorial (*sraddha*) ceremonies may provide such occasions. These contacts are, however, likely to be merely those of formal and meaningless nodding acquaintance. Exceptional cases of personal intimacy due perhaps to school comradeship may lead in certain instances to the presence of one or two 150-500-Rupee men in the "at-homes" of the 1000-2000-Rupee group. Generally speaking, the "society" and the "socials" of the two groups are as differentiated and distant as can be imagined.

Where the gaps in income are wider, for instance, as extensive as Rs. 50-150 and Rs. 1000-2000 the class distinctions within the same caste become tremendously palpable. The class-consciousness is then brought down to the "brass-tags", as Americans would say, *i.e.*, to the fundamentals. The distinctions in wealth are so extraordinary that the 50-150-Rupee man would by all means avoid from a distance any contact with his 1000-2000-Rupee casteman or even relative. The "familistic type" of culture, as envisaged by Sorokin, is quite pervious to the *mores* of his "contractual type". Blood-relationships are not always powerful enough to withstand the might of money in interhuman relations.

In the public life of nationalists, socialists or communists,—both Hindu and Muslim,—the leadership belongs almost automatically to money.[2] It is the man with money that leads, or perhaps the man behind whom there is money. The leaderocracy of money sets the social norms. In spite of the "words, words, words" about the alleged spirituality of Indian culture hardly any political or social leader of the Indian people has been known to practise the following maxim of Jesus in *Luke* (*Gospel III*): "He that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief as he that doth serve."

Self-sacrificing persons,—especially students and young men and women,—are, as everywhere else, the real and effective leaders of movements in India. The spiritual leadership belongs to the young between 18 and 28, especially such as are born, in the 25-50-Rupee group. But in the factual social life of the political complex their sole function consists in being exploited by the clever fellows equipped with the sinews of war.

[1] *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. III. (New York, 1937), pp. 24-29.

[2] B. K. Sarkar: *Indian Freedom Movement* (preface to Abdus Sadeque's *Indian Constitutional Tangle*, Calcutta, 1941).

Once in a while a really self-sacrificing and genuine patriot appears to be the *de jure* leader. But in reality he is just maintained as the *proforma* leader in order to play to the gallery. The measure is a political dodge and serves merely the publicity purpose. In such circumstances the so-called *official* leader, known chiefly to newspaper readers, is virtually a clerk compelled to obey and carry out the orders of the *de facto* leader, the financial magnate, whose word is law. It is the moneyed man that commands the nationalist, socialist as well as communist press, platform and party. It is the moneyed man whose house the so-called leader has to visit three times a day in order to be acquainted with his duties as well as perhaps to get his day-to-day living.

Brilliant literary men and women, creative authors, wide-awake journalists,—howsoever patriotic and intellectually gifted they be,—have hardly any place in the "social" life. Of course they have their own circles by all means. Normally, however, their bosses must be the leaders here and there and everywhere. The bread-givers, capitalists or employers are the totalitarian masters of those intellectuals who are either their employees or expect from such classes a dole or two in one form or other. The conscience of the intellectuals, poor as they are, is very often not in their own keeping, and their own voices very few can hear.

Scientists, musicians, painters, authors, scholars, journalists and other intellectuals may once in a while be seen in the company of the political and social leaders. They find themselves in such at-homes or parties not, however, as by right or convention belonging to the "society." It is because they have to be exploited by the "society" in the interest of the factual leaders' personal propaganda that such persons once in a while may be invited to rub shoulders with the upper ten thousands. It does not have to be specifically noted that friendly contacts with the journalists furnish in any case the life-blood of modern politics and culture. The "leaders" are forced to cultivate the acquaintance of these persons. As for the other intellectuals, they contribute perhaps an aesthetic, emotional or spiritual varnish to the gatherings, which might otherwise look too prosaic, uncultured, materialistic. The psycho-social *Gestalt* of the moneyed classes is wise enough to feel that persons engaged in the sciences and arts, although belonging to lower income-groups, are once in a while desirable acquaintances in order to raise the dignity of the aristocratic world, the "society."

The science of interhuman relations cannot afford to practise flattery or play the courtier to any group but must call a spade a spade. No cynicism or pessimism of any sort is implied in this sociological analysis.

The intellectually creative classes, it is superfluous to observe, belong to the lower and lowest income-groups. The culture, philosophy, social service, patriotism, spirituality,—whatever India produces today as something worth while for all mankind and for all future is in most instances the achievement of the poor.[3] The class (*i.e.*, money) distinctions between the creators of culture and the "society" or the "leaders" are unbridgeable. It is a paradox of social and cultural dynamics that the zones of creativity, both in East and West, should in very many instances, although not in all, be conterminous with the zones of poverty.

The "extra-territorial" position of the patriot or the intellectual may very often be tragic. It is quite possible that as a class-man he is perhaps

[3] B. K. Sarkar: "The Poor as World-Conquerors" (*Hindustan Review*, Allahabad, December, 1940).

just a "two-meal-a-day" fellow subsisting somehow on the poverty-line. Such scholars or publicists with extra-territorial reputation but poor incomes are actually pitied by the 2,500-3,500 Rupee lawyers, physicians and officials, and serve but as warnings to the children of the latter group.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE TEN-THOUSAND DOLLAR MAN OF AMERICA

"It would be generally agreed," says Parsons in the *American Journal of Sociology*,[4] "that the difference between the top range of incomes earned, on the one hand, in business and the law, and on the other, in university teaching and the ministry does not accurately measure the relative prestige of the incumbents. A world-famous scientist who is a university professor on a ten-thousand-dollar salary is not only at the top of his own profession but may be the full equal in status of a corporation lawyer whose income is ten times his own." The ten-thousand-dollar salary is to be understood as the yearly income from the university and implies 800-850 dollars per month. In keeping with the differences in the currency-and-standard-of-living complex we may take the value of this salary in the American *milieu* to be roughly equivalent to the same amount of Indian Rupees in the Indian *milieu*.

Now the "general agreement" that Parsons expects is nothing more than what we maintain, namely, that an intellectual may actually possess an "extra-territorial" status which has no reference to or is independent of the income. But in *Realpolitik* this extra-territoriality due to reputation cannot by any means lead to a "full equality in status" in any substantial sense with the businessman or lawyer earning $8,500 *p.m.* Parsons cannot expect any "general agreement" on this point. The case he has taken is rather exceptional, that of a "world-famous scientist." And yet not many shrewd observers would agree that the $850-scientist is in class-psychology or social status "fully equal" to the $8,500-lawyer of his city.

Parsons himself suspects that the "full equality in status" is an unreality and modifies his position thus: "But so long as the scientist is able," says he, "to maintain a 'respectable' standard of living, entertain his friends well, dress his family adequately, and educate his children well, the fact that he cannot afford the luxuries of a hundred thousand dollar income is a matter of relative indifference." The "relative indifference" is due naturally to the "spiritual" delights of the extra territorial reputation enjoyed by the scientist. But the "respectable" standard of living and the other items of the mundane plane may not be maintained on the monthly $850 income. And therefore, the equality that the extra-territorial scientist enjoys *vis-à-vis* the millionaire is not "full" but quite relative, just an occasional incident of life, the contact of a formal nodding or handshake.

Seeing that the scientist's family is not rich enough to visit the same club, and indulge in the same round of socials, excursions, theatre parties, summer vacations and world tours as the millionaire's family the contacts between the two are bound to be reduced to a minimum. And where the contacts or *Beziehungen* are lacking there cannot be any question of a "society," still less of equality in social status.

[4] May, 1940. p. 860 (article on "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification.")

Indeed, Parsons makes the situation clear by bringing in "the scientists' wife and/or children" who are likely to "feel the strains" because of the "discrepancy" between the spiritual status and the class position. In so far as Parsons finally believes that the scientist "does not compete on the plane of 'conspicuous consumption' which is open to the lawyer but closed to him" he should revise his judgment thoroughly and declare that the scientist, relatively poor as he is, and the lawyer, who is a millionaire, do not belong to the same class either in creativity or in material possessions. Virtually they live in two different worlds. Altogether, we are furnished with another instance of the difficulty in establishing gradations, ratings, classes, etc., as other social values on single bases or monistic foundations.

The comfortably placed persons are certainly those who may not be extra-territorial in reputation. They are likely to be forgotten as soon as they die. But while they live they are in the front rank of social, *i.e.*, material and class life. On the contrary, some of the poor, hungry "extra-territorials," who are dead while alive, begin to live even in the "society" as soon as they die. It is, indeed, thirty or fifty years after their death that these materially miserable extra-territorials commence enjoying a worldly vogue. Something like a Freudian compensation is to be watched in this peculiar social complex. Those who live prosperously as human beings of flesh and blood do not as a rule tend to be "immortals." It is from among *les misérables* that some of the immortals are selected by nature. It is not to be overlooked, however, that while alive some of these miserables may happen to be spiritually extra-territorial, and therefore quite alive in certain sections of the home and the world.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

PEASANTS, WORKERS AND WOMEN IN INTRA-CLASS RELATIONS

Among the cultivators the rich-poor pattern is solidly established. The richer peasants understand very well that they are not identical with the poorer. The *soziale Beziehungen* between the numerous groups of poor, poorer, poorest among these classes, or sub-classes, *i.e.*, their *intra-class* relations are not those dictated by the Spenglerian peasant-soul or village-soul. Nor is the "familistic" type or "farmer-peasant" ideology of Sorokin much in evidence in the inter-class or intra-class attitudes and behaviours of the agriculturists and agricultural labourers.

The working classes belonging to the railway and other transportation offices are not supremely indifferent to the class-differences engendered by wages ranging from Rs. 125 to Rs, 25 per month. Among the workers in tea or coffee plantations or the labour force employed in the factories or workshops the class-differentiations due to *Rupaiyacracy* are some of the *faits sociaux*. Not all the 5,000,000 industrial workers of India exhibit a so-called working-class mentality or a unified proletarian class-consciousness. The sovereignty of money is potent among the numerous sub-classes of the workers' world, in their intra-class relations.

Equally if not more class-conscious, *i.e.*, money-conscious than men in India are the women. They do not have to take lessons in materialism from Eur-American women. Nor are they in a position to give Eur-American women lessons in morality, modesty or spirituality. In their

dealings with one another,—in intra-class relations,—they go by their husbands' incomes. The women's "societies" are the *rendezvous* of those women whose husbands are more or less in the same income-group. The class equality is based on equality in ornaments and clothing which the woman wears at a party or has in her drawer or safe deposit vault. The jealousies and envies of Indian women turn round the same items as those of Western. The fur coat, the Persian carpet, and the six-seater are the Eur-American analogues of personal ornaments in India. In the women's associations established for political, social or educational purposes Indian women exhibit their petty rivalries for domination in the same manner as their Western sisters. The domination goes here as in the West to the woman with a relatively rich husband or decent bank balance. The party intrigues are conducted by Indian women with the same spiritual enthusiasm as by Eur-American. The student of social relations cannot indulge in either chivalry or cynicism. Sociology is the science of *faits sociaux* and not of visions, dreams, pious wishes or platitudes. In India as in Eur-America the eternal *Femina* can no doubt exhibit some exceptional instances of idealism and humane personality. These cannot be passed by without hurting the cause of social science.[5]

Inter-class social mobility of the vertical type is in evidence in India as elsewhere. The classes must not be treated as rigid or closed compartments. Altogether, the inter-class and intra-class relations as observable in India today may all be described in terms of the social processes with which we are familiar in von Wiese's *System der All-gemeinen Soziologie* (1924-1933).[6]

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE CRIME-PATTERN OF CLASS DIFFERENTIATIONS

Class differentiations, as envisaged in this study are correlates of money-distinctions. The entire hierarchy is governed, be it repeated, from top to bottom by *Rupaiyacracy*, the regime of the Rupee. It is the Rupee-*raj* that extends its sway in inter-class as well as intra-class relations. The Rupee-*raj* promotes the quest for *Rupaiya* in every income-group. As long as money rules, everybody in each income-group tries by hook or by crook to elevate his or her position to the next higher rung. If the quest of the Holy Grail is associated with certain virtues, the quest of money is attended with certain vices, immoralities, sins and crimes. Sociologists cannot ignore the reality that since the Mohenjodarian and Mycenaean epochs the race for money has ever been one of the dynamic forces in the evolution of classes. And moralists may care to note that this evolution of classes has been featured with the evolution, *pari passu*, of diverse forms of evil, *i.e.*, the negation of *satya* (truth), *sundara* (beauty) and *shiva* (good).[7] It is not all good that has come in the wake of class-evolution as the correlate or function of money-leaderocracy or Rupee-*raj*.

[5] Re : the "Masculinization of Woman," and the achievements of Indian feminism see B. K. Sarkar : *Creative India* (Lahore, 1937) pp. 552- 59.

[6] See also C. H. Cooley : *Social Organisation* (New York, 1909), *Social Process* (1918); E. A. Ross : *Social Control* (New York, 1901), *Changing America* (1912), *Principles of Sociology* (1920), *World Drift* (1928); L. von Wiese and Howard Becker : *Systematic Sociology* (New York, 1932).

[7] *Cf.* E. A. Ross : *Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1938), pp. 609-10 (patronage, corruption).

Family *mores* are profoundly affected by the craze for class uplift. Bits of the human *psyche* can be opened up through many vanities, apparently very simple. For instance, people buy portraits in the bazar and hang them up on the walls of their salons. When visitors come and admire the paintings the lady of the house at once tells them that the portraits are those of her grandfathers or her husband's great-grandfathers. The lady's husband was poor a few years ago. But he is one of the "financial Napoleons" of modern times and has happened to acquire substantial property. He now belongs to the "society" and cannot therefore afford to have an unknown ancestry. So the portraits of any distinguished-looking man or woman sold in the bazar have to be passed off among the acquaintances as his ancestors. This is not perhaps a specimen of abnormal psychology.

Criminology can likewise offer illustrations of the impact of money and class consciousness on diverse types of morals. Members of the police, the judiciary and the jury can very often be influenced in the ways known to human beings. These human ways are followed in India as elsewhere. Statistics are not always available. But newspaper reports about crimes and punishments can serve to open up the instincts, urges and drives which otherwise in most cases lie hidden in the human soul.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SOCIETY AND CRIME FROM THACKERAY TO GARRATT

It may not be irrelevant to recall once in a while some of the classical instances of the craze for class and the mania for money,—normal as they are,—in their bearings on morals, manners and sentiments. Thackeray's account of British society in his *George III*, may furnish good objective specimens, spiced as they are with fine literary flavour, for a modern sociologist's realistic analysis of money-leaderocracy and class-differentiations. "At the accession of George III," says he, "the patricians were yet at the height of their good fortune. Society recognised their superiority which they themselves pretty calmly took for granted. They inherited not only titles and estates, and seats in the House of Peers but seats in the House of Commons. There were a multitude of Government places, and not merely these but tribes of actual £500 notes which members of the House took not much shame in receiving. Small blame to them if they took and enjoyed and over-enjoyed the prizes of politics, the pleasures of social life."

The milk of human kindness pervades, as is well known, the social studies of Thackeray. And so he observes as follows: "If in looking at the lives of princes, courtiers, men of rank and fashion, we must perforce depict them as idle, profligate and criminal we must make allowances for the rich man's failings." Thackeray does not furnish us with statistics, of course. But literature, when it is objective and realistic, like that of La Fontaine (1621-95) or Dickens, can be good sociology too.

The business economy of modern capitalism was not well developed in the social pattern described by Thackeray. But it is obvious that the crimes and immoralities which it is the custom among certain classes of statisticians and sociologists to functionally or even causally associate with capitalism flourished quite abundantly in the pre-capitalistic or semi-capitalistic ears as well.

The American sociologist, Earle Eubank,[8] describes the social pattern of crime, morality and justice as follows. "There are bribable police," says he, "who must be found and induced to connive at what goes on within a certain district or place. There are bondsmen who must be engaged and hold themselves ready to appear in court at a moment's notice and give bail for one who has been arrested. There are lawyers who must be retained to handle the case at trial should it go that far; not necessarily the best legal talent in the city, but if possible attorneys who have influence with the proper officials who can dictate decisions or find ways of deflecting penalties."

In G. T. Garratt's *Europe's Dance of Death* (London, 1940) democracy, as factually functioning in Great Britain during the last decade under Baldwin and Chamberlain, is considered to be essentially plutocratic. The influence of Lenin's "finance-capital" on the administrative system is too patent. The French democracy, likewise, is demonstrated to be equally if not more plutocratic. The steel magnates of the *Comité des Forges* are some of the "two hundred families" which virtually rule France. In both these democracies public opinion is consciously or unconsciously nothing but the vested interests of a few powerful moneyed men. Newspapers are proven to be the organs of these few individuals. Political parties are likewise misnomers being virtually the salons of such dominant financiers and social despots.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

CLASS-PATTERN NOT THE CAUSE OF CRIME

The social pattern of class-differentiations is not being presented as the cause of immorality, vice and crime. Nothing more is maintained by me than that immorality, vice and crime are integrally associated with the monetary urge and the income-distinctions which constitute the basis of the class pattern. Immoralities and criminalities are certainly associated with other patterns too. Besides, the money pattern does not in every instance lead to immoral, sinful, vicious and criminal actions.

It should be wrong to suppose, as is generally the custom to believe, that vices, immoralities and criminalities are committed exclusively by the business magnates, industrial leaders, landed aristocracy, *i.e.*, the upper ten thousands. The psychosocial *Gestalt* of the individuals in the diverse income-groups reacts in more or less the same manner. The ambition to rise by fair means or foul affects the poorest man as much as the richest. The 5-Rupee milkman adulterates his stuff in order to swindle half a Rupee per month out of his client. Twenty-five or thirty per cent. of the Rupee is taken away from the householder who depends on his cook or servant for the daily marketing. The municipal superintendents, inspectors and overseers are decently treated by the vendors and shopkeepers in the markets so that the Acts relating to the adulteration of foodstuffs and drugs become entirely ineffective. In the course of a few years, these 75-150-Rupee officials are thereby enabled to build houses of their own worth several thousand Rupees as well as acquire other properties.

In order to get a lift of a few Rupees the intellectuals can be traitors to and victimize one another. Duplicity is not an uncommon trait among colleagues and comrades. This is practised not however for an ideologically spiritual purpose but for the class elevation or material benefit.

[8] *Locksteps and Corridor: Twenty-five Years of Prison Life* (Cincinnati, 1927), p. 154.

The 25-50 or 50-150-Rupee schoolmaster cheats the classes and does not give adequate lessons because he can force some of the guardians to employ him as a home tutor. The medical practitioner of Rs. 100-150 does not prescribe the proper medicine at the first visit in order that the patient may be compelled to send for him again. The 250-Rupee-lawyer swindles his client by taking a bribe from the other party. The manager of a firm whose salary is Rs. 250-500 per month soon becomes master of thousands and hundreds of thousands on account of the financial considerations with which he is rewarded by those industrialists and businessmen who receive contracts from him for building materials, stationery and other requirements.

Every *zwischenmenschliche Beziehung* (interhuman relation) is almost invariably attended with some illegal monetary transaction. Some dose of cheating, swindling, criminal breach of trust or the like may be expected to be associated with any social contact, no matter what be the income-group of the persons involved.

The presence of women in the picture may often introduce sex-exploitation as a matter of course. Women cannot generally expect a position or a promotion unless they happen to have confidential men-friends at some rung of the class-hierarchy. The men or women geniuses are declared to be those persons who know, even with officially announced small salaries, how within the short period of three years to make themselves owners of substantial properties as well as masters of quite respectable bank accounts.

Very often it is impossible to connect by the highest flight of imagination the fortune acquired by an individual with the salary and allowance he is officially supposed to get. It is not for nothing that the genial Frenchman, Proudhon [9] in 1840 asked *Qu' est-ce que la propriété ?* (What is Property ?) and bluntly replied: *C'est vol* (It is robbery). The socio-analysis of the Indian financial Napoleons of the last two generations is likely to yield significant results about the origins of modern wealth and the urges for class differentiation.

Candidates for membership of municipal boards, corporations, legislative councils and assemblies behave like lambs to their constituencies, as may be well imagined in East and West, during the canvassing period. But as soon as the election is over and they have become members they are unapproachable. They consider themselves to be rulers, and as such behave like tyrants. Memberships bring in very often many non-spiritual delights. And it is for such delights "in the long run" that many publicists are prepared to equip themselves by courting political imprisonment, if necessary, as seeming nationalists or socialists. The lay people consider political prisoners to be philanthropists and patriots. But at the back of their heads quite a few of these publicly advertised political prisoners themselves have eventual council memberships and non-spiritual joys.

Patriotism may or may not be the "last refuge of scoundrels." But that it can be cloak for money-making and class uplift can be demonstrated easily. People often accept honorary positions with patriotic or public societies in order that they may misappropriate the funds raised by subscriptions from all and sundry. The industrial workingmen are not in-

[9] C. Bouglé : *Socialismes* français (Paris, 1933), Chapter on *Bilan du Proudhonisme*, pp. 149-51.

frequently exploited by intellectuals posing as their champions whose primary object may be just to establish a political platform with which to rise in public estimation and coerce the employers into offering them handsome presents.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

"AMERICAN" CRIMES AND VICES

Should a sociologist care to indulge in a little bit of moralizing, one is at liberty to condemn in the Indian social complex what Ross finds fault with in his *Principles of Sociology*. "Foppish standards,"[10] he says, "spread through society and corrupt home-bred notions of what is fit." Again, "people come to scorn joys at their elbows and pine for luxuries out of their reach." Ross is likewise convinced that "greed is whetted till even the decent turn to monopoly, extortion, chicane and acquisitive crime."

In the light of such interpretations, quite objective should appear to be the analysis of certain aspects of the American social pattern as furnished by the Bengali sociologist, Nagen Chaudhury, in *Markin Samaj O Samasya* (American Society and Problems, Calcutta, 1932) and the *Tragedies of Modernism* (1934). Only, he does not seem to be sufficiently awake to the fact that the so-called American vices and crimes have their homes in India also perhaps in somewhat smaller numbers and under partially different forms.

Another American sociologist, Harry Barnes,[11] does not mince matters. He is objective enough to see that "the upper classes capitulated pretty thoroughly to the prevailing something-for-nothing psychology of the past era. Freebooting in railroads, banks, utilities, receiverships and the like became shockingly frequent. It was inevitable that, sooner or later, a process of imitation would set in among the criminally inclined of the lower classes." This, according to Barnes, is an American verification of the "law of social psychology formulated by Gabriel Tarde and others years ago that the socially inferior tend to ape the socially superior."

It should be observed, however, that the inferior classes do not always have to wait to be educated into criminal practices by the higher classes. The agricultural labourers, the poorer peasants, the clerks, the schoolmasters, the authors, the bank clerks, the insurance men, the foremen mechanics, the industrial workers, the pretty shopkeepers, the street vendors,—each is capable of immorality and criminality in his or her sphere.

However, "no one can seriously maintain," says Barnes quite objectively, "that social and economic democracy exists when we face such economic and social inequalities as are revealed not in the vocal harangues of the soap-box orator but in the sober and reliable statistics gathered by every great nation." It is not possible to challenge Barnes on this attitude.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

[10] New York, 1938 (3rd ed.), pp. 158-59. See C. H. Page: *Class and American Sociology* (New York, 1940), p. 226.

[11] *History of Western Civilization*, Vol. II (New York, 1935), pp. 500, 834.

CRIME *VIS-A-VIS* CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY

A general shortcoming in the American sociological analysis of immoralities and criminalities may be found in the almost invariable attempt to connect them functionally with capitalism, industrial economy, commercialism, urbanism and so forth. A more reasonable and factual attitude would perhaps be to treat them as the phenomena of all socio-cultural systems and epochs. Crimes (vices, sins, immoralities) are eternal and universal just as the classes are.

If money-leaderocracy is an evil and if it fosters or is somehow associated with immoralities and criminalities it is not the exclusive product of modern capitalism. In other epochs the forms and volumes of money-caderocracy, Rupee-*raj* dollar-despotism might have been otherwise, and so also the vices, sins, and crime might have appeared in other forms. But the rule of money as well as the sway of crimes were always in evidence. Objective and uncynical as well as non-moralizing sociology should be able to establish this position on factual and statistical basis, in case adequate and comparable figures were available from diverse regions and ages.

American sociologists like Ross and Cooley have, further, the weakness of believing that democracy is somehow tending to militate against crimes and vices. No realistic examination of democratic institutions can satisfactorily demonstrate this position.

Evidences of progress are manifest in thousand and one spheres. The indices of welfare, prosperity, betterment, and evolutive transformation can be pointed out easily by statisticians. But, in the first place, these indices of what I call *badṭi* (expansion or progress and improvement) must not be permitted to hide the ugly facts of poverty, ill-health, cruelty, torture, exploitation, sabotage, victimization and other immoralities, sins and crimes which flourish in new forms and under new names. In the second place, the progress that has been or is being consummated cannot all be attributed to democracy.

Perhaps this sentimentalism for democracy is American optimism. But it is very often nothing but the cultivation of blindness to the realities of evil in the social pattern. It is not unreasonable to believe that democracy has certain merits. But the magic of democracy cannot accomplish every desirable transformation of interhuman relations. Besides, it would be too monistic to believe that non-democratic institutions or regimes cannot exhibit the same merits as are claimed of democracy. In that case there should have been no virtues—no *satya* (truth), *shiva* (good) and *sundara* (beauty), and no *dharma* (law, justice, duty),—throughout history because as a rule mankind has mainly been undemocratic in the past.

Further, it is rather much too naive to believe that in order to be an optimist one must deny, like Browning, the existence of evil as in the following words:

> " The evil is null, is nought;
> Is silence implying sound;
> On the earth the broken arcs
> In the heaven a perfect round."

Browningite optimism,—the milk and honey conception of the universe,—is false and misleading. The " broken arcs " are too factual and solid to be overlooked by the pragmatist.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

Kara-Niti.—By Sj. Anath Gopal Sen, with a Foreword by Dr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt. Published by the Modern Book Agency, Calcutta. Pp. 66. Price Re. 1-4.

This is a book in Bengali on the principles of taxation. It is divided into two parts. In the first part the author describes the fundamental principles of taxation and the effect of taxation on production and distribution of wealth. The rest of the book is devoted to a consideration of the outlines of the system of taxation, Central and Provincial, as prevailing in India.

It is written in a lucid and vigorous style and is likely to stimulate interest in a subject which is of abiding interest to all citizens. As far as the reviewer is aware, the book is a pioneer work in Bengali on this branch of public finance. All credit is, therefore, due to the author for the successful manner in which he has surmounted the obstacles connected with the translation of technical terms with which the literature on public finance abounds.

J. P. N.

India and the Pacific World.—By Dr. Kalidas Nag. Published under the auspices of the Greater India Society by Book Company, Ltd., 4/3 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. xiii + 294. Price—Indian Rs. 10; Foreign £1 or 5 dollars.

The Pacific world which has witnessed great migratory movements of Man from very ancient times has been for some time drawing the attention of scholars as a very interesting cauldron of much too diverse ethnical types and widely different cultures. Modern researches have also revealed India as a partner of this distant world and many interesting things have been known about her rôle in the growth of culture in these lands. Work done so far in this line cannot, however, be taken as adequate nor has its scope been properly explored.

The vastness of the subject is in itself a discouraging element and not many will be found in the scholarly world bold enough to handle the whole of it in the scope of one volume. Dr. Nag, who is an ardent advocate of the studies of the international cultural movements, a widely travelled man and a sensitive scholar, is probably one of the very few persons from whom may be expected a proper treatment of the subject. His tours along the western shores of the Pacific and from island to island in the ocean brought him deeply in touch with the various tendencies among the men living in these lands. He was struck by the results of modern researches which have made known the great movements of pre-historic and proto-historic man from shore to shore and the broad fundamental unity which underlie the culture of these distant lands. The book is divided into twelve chapters and the scope of it is apparent from the titles of the chapters such as the Pacific Basin—a cultural survey; Cultural migrations in Oceania, etc.

In the first six chapters of the book the author has given a very vivid account of the migrations and movements of early Man in Oceania, the land of the Maoris, Polynesia and the Philippines where exists the most interesting laboratory of ethnic types. These chapters, besides containing extremely useful knowledge about the early development and diffusion of human species in the Pacific island have three interesting appendices containing information about the present-day efforts of making the culture of these lands known. The contents of these chapters deal mostly with anthropological facts.

In the subsequent chapters racial informations come in as the background of a detailed study of cultural outputs in the shape of art, architecture, sculpture, painting, etc., and the efforts to reveal and re-read them in the perspective of new light of present-day world. The chapters deal with the art and archaeological movements in Thailand, Indo-China, Sumatra, Java, China and Japan. Each chapter gives a useful historical introduction and the compact of Indian culture on the indigenous culture of these lands has been discussed in detail. Also what is being done in present times to recover, restore, collect and study the remains of ancient culture by local and international bodies has been given a much useful space.

The author regrets his inability to include relevant plates in this volume which would have undoubtedly enhanced the value and appeal of the work to a great extent. The book will be read with much interest and will be considered a valuable addition to our knowledge about the Pacific World.

D. P. Ghosh

Challenge to Youth (A Symposium of Messages of Great Personalities to the Indian Youth).—Edited by Madhavendra P. N. Singh, with a Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, and an Introduction by Pandit Amar Nath Jha. Published by Kitabmahal, Allahabad. Pp. 239. Price Rs. 2.

Cleavage between the young and the old is unhealthy for a nation; it is disastrous for a nation in political bondage. Anybody associated with the student world notices with considerable dismay that the young men of our country reading in Colleges and Universities hold their elders in utter distrust. They think their seniors to be exponents of out-worn creeds, who hug antiquated values and dead ideas and act as a check on human progress. The elders take a similar attitude of suspicion towards the youths. They consider them reckless idealists, as agents of disruptive forces. They say that young men have energy, vigour and enthusiasm which require to be directed by elderly persons. But our young people refuse to be treated as a mass of neutral capability, as raw material to be utilised by older leaders. The book under review goes a long way towards clarifying some of the fundamental problems of the whole issue. It contains the opinions of such great thinkers as Gandhi and Tagore, famous leaders like C. F. Andrews, Jawaharlal Nehru and eminent educationists like Ganganath Jha, Pandit Malaviya, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Meghnad Saha and Dr. H. C. Mookerjee.

Most of the essays contained in the volume confirm the notion that the dispute between the young and the old is an utterly idle dispute. None of them suggests any feeble reconciliation or empty compromise. The relation between the young and the old is not likely to improve by a pact. It should be determined by an implicit and natural estimate of

their respective capabilities and a proper understanding of the task for which they are to be employed. Sincere and honest workers do not raise a quarrel over allotment of duties. In most cases controversy indicates passivity and dissension is a mark of lukewarmness. When the importance of the task is properly realised, questions of individual prestige altogether disappear. People working earnestly for a common end will have little occasion for serious disagreement. This point has been specially emphasised by Dr. H. C. Mookerjee who has placed before the young men of our country the great task which confronts them and asks them to undertake it in right earnest. He points out what duties the young men can perform during their student life. Young men should take in their hands tasks which they are best fitted to accomplish. He says: "Cannot the younger generation help forward this great task of seeing that justice is done to those who, through no fault of their own, are penalised only because they happen to be members of a particular social group? Surely the idealism which finds its most natural home in the heart of the young should enable students as a class to take part in the activities of this organisation."

Dr. Mookerjee rightly considers student life as a period of apprenticeship which nonetheless offers ample opportunity for doing much substantial work. "Interest in the social, the economic and the political problems of the day is one thing and active participation in the political conflicts is a different matter. Students as the voters and leaders of tomorrow should study the various problems of citizenship but this does not imply that they should permit themselves to be diverted from the purpose which has brought them into educational institutions."

R. K. D. G.

A Call to Unity and Action (A Collection of Verses from the Holy Q'urān).—By Abdul Jabbar, with a Foreword by Sir Syed Sultan Ahmed, Kt., Barrister-at-Law. Published by the Author, Ajmer. 1938. Printed at Ripon Printing Press, Lahore. Pp. 6 Crown 8vo.

A book like this does not merit a long review. Its underlying purpose is clear from its very title—A Call to Unity and Action. This call is sought to be made on the high authority of the verses of the Qur'ān itself. The selection of the verses from Al-Qur'ān seems to be happy and judicious. But the verses reproduced are all taken from Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali's English translation, which, on the whole, is reliable. The really striking feature of the book is that, in it, the author has introduced the relevant verses under certain classified heads and succeeded in emphasizing thereby the spirit of toleration which pervades the religion of the Qur'ān, and for the matter of that, Islām *par excellence*. Mr. Abdul Jabbar, however, is not the first to bring out this aspect of the teachings of the Qur'ān. But the appeal of his work is different from that in previous works, inasmuch as tolerance is the single note on which it harps. In these days, when the atmosphere of the country is vitiated by communal tension, books of the kind are badly needed to promote a better understanding and mutual good-will between sister communities and to help them to live in peace and amity.

Those interested in the advanced study of the subject may profitably refer to earlier works, *The Teaching of the Qur'ān* (in English) by H. U. W. Stanton and *Tabwību'l-Qur'ān li Zabṭ-i Mazāmīnu'l-Furqān* (in Urdu) by Waḥīdu'z-Zāmān.

MOHAMMAD ISHAQUE

Amader Parichay.—By Sudhir Kumar Dasgupta, M.A. Published by the Bina Library, Calcutta. 1941. Pp. [6]+4+ 222.

This book is an able and vigorous exposition of the Hindu view of life as reflected in our sacred and religious texts; it also aims side by side to give an interpretation of our spiritual and cultural values. The transparent sincerity of the author's mental attitude and his depth of inner conviction are unmistakable, and what is remarkable is that he has been able to impart both into the texture of his language and style. He writes clearly and forcefully, his diction and manner are classical, and his composition has an architectonic quality that gives his style an inner dignity which keeps pace with the subject he treats.

The book contains twelve chapters dealing successively with the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Gītā, the Purāṇas and the Buddha and his age, the Vedānta Philosophy and Saṅkarācārya, Saktism and Tantra, Vaiṣṇavism and Śrī Gaurāṅga, Brāhma Samaj and Rammohon Roy, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and finally the Modern Age. The first six chapters are comparatively easier, but the rest had perforce to be a little bit abstruse and metaphysical, since it was necessary to explain the main principles of Hindu philosophy and *sādhanā* involved in the discussion of these topics. But I must admit that even so, he has done it in the clearest manner possible. His historical perspective is also on the whole irreproachable. But what the discourses lack is a critical outlook; this, I presume, has been due to the fact that the author wanted to impart to his readers the sincere enthusiasm and the joy of conviction that he himself feels and enjoys for the subjects he has laid under contribution. I also miss that attitude of mind that would have loved to take into account in the same context the relation of the values brought forward by the author with actual realities of life. The ideal picture furnished by sacred and religious texts is only one side of the medal; it does not necessarily represent the whole of life as dreamt and lived by our people through ages. As a text-book, however, for our young hopefuls in the schools and colleges the book has a definite place, more so in the present matter of conflicting ideas and ideals that have overtaken us. If Mr. Dasgupta errs in his attitude towards history in the wider sense, he does so in the right side. One should not miss the short introduction with which the author prefaces his book; it is significant, and the book serves the purpose it sets forth in the introduction.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

Darsan (A Quarterly Journal Devoted to Philosophy).—Edited By Dr. Satischandra Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D. No. 1, Kārttika, 1348. Pp. 91. Price Re. 1 per issue. Annual Subscription Rs. 4.

Bengal is noted for specialisation in philosophical speculations since the ninth century at the latest. Its contribution to Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya philosophy is undoubtedly unique. Coming to recent times we find that the formation and growth of Bengali Prose Literature is closely connected with theological and philosophical discussions and controversies. With the exception of a precious few most of the philosophical literature in Bengali are translations from Sanskrit or English. It is quite in the fitness of things that a Bengali periodical devoted to philosophy alone has now come out, and it is a very welcome appearance in the field of

Bengali Literature. The issue under review contains eight articles, all very well-written and interesting to general readers. We have every hope that the subsequent issues will keep up to the promise indicated by this first issue under the able editorship of Dr. Chatterji. We also expect that the Bengali-speaking educated public will not fail to lend financial support to this laudable but difficult enterprize by subscribing to it.

SUKUMAR SEN

Vikramorvasie or The Hero and the Nymph (A Drama by Kalidasa). —Translated from the Sanskrit by Sri Aurobindo. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Second Edition, 1941. Pp. 118. Price Rs. 3.

The authorities of Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, deserve all thanks for publishing this second edition of *Vikramorvasie* in such a nice form. Sri Aurobindo's translation of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* is no mere translation; it is literature and almost classic. Not only indologists and students of Sanskrit but general readers of English literature also will welcome this little volume.

SUKUMAR SEN

Two Plays of Bhāsa. By A. S. P. Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., Barrister at-Law. Published by the Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras. 1941. Pp. 159+2. Price Rs. 1-8.

The work under review contains English translation of Bhāsa's two famous dramas, *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and *Svapnavāsavadattā*. A lengthy introduction (pp. 1-82) fully discusses the date, authenticity and excellence of the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa. It also gives full analysis of the two plays translated. The work is an welcome addition to Bhāsa literature, and may be profitably used by the students of Sanskrit literature.

SUKUMAR SEN

Haidar Ali, Volume I, 1721-1779.—By Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Published by the author from 47-A, Ekdalia Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5, pp. i-iii, 1-294.

None offered a stiffer resistance to the rising British power in India than Hyder Ali of Mysore. His was a remarkable and romantic career. Son of a poor Naik, uneducated and illiterate, harassed and persecuted by people in power, he carved his way with his good sword, consolidated his power with his native wit and converted the petty principality of Mysore into a mighty empire. Fortune, it is true, favoured him more than once; but for the Maratha disaster at Panipat and the untimely death of the great Madhav Rao, Hyder might have ended like other bold spirits of his times as an unsuccessful adventurer; but, in fairness to him, it must not be ignored that Hyder often seized fortune by the forelock and harnessed the fickle deity to his victorious chariot. No disaster ever unnerved him, defeat always left him undaunted and he kept his presence of mind in the face of impending ruin. Exceptionally shrewd and always prepared to exploit the slightest opportunity to his own advantage, Hyder often outwitted the Maratha diplomatist and outmanoeuvred the British soldier. It is therefore

really surprising that no serious attempt had been made to produce an authoritative biography of Hyder since Col. Wilks published his monumental work. The small volume by Bowring in the "Rulers of India" series may be dismissed as popular and perfunctory. Dr. N. K. Sinha is to be sincerely congratulated on his recent volume on the hero of Mysore. The tale is lucidly told, the intricate Anglo-Maratha—Arcot—Hyderabad—Mysore tangle is deftly unravelled and the reader is presented with a vivid portrait pulsating with life. There is no confusion of facts, no ambiguity of policy, the narrative flows on with the easy grace of a rippling brook and the reader seldom suspects that behind this charming lucidity lie uncommon erudition and unflagging industry. Col. Wilks was either unaware of the huge mass of Marathi records or had no access to it and his account of Mysore is necessarily one-sided and incomplete. Dr. Sinha, however, has made an exhaustive study of the English, Marathi, Persian, French and Portuguese sources and he confidently guides his reader through the tangled wood in which Wilks not seldom lost his way. It is his critical examination and careful collation of all the available sources that make Dr. Sinha's Hyder Ali, if not the last word on the subject, a thoroughly reliable book of reference that will long be regarded as an authoritative work on the most important period in the history of Mysore. We are eagerly awaiting the next volume of this valuable publication.

SURENDRANATH SEN

Ourselves

[*I. Our New Vice-Chancellor.—II. Lieut.-Col. Sir M. Azizul Huque Honoured.—III. The Annual Convocation of the University.—IV. Girls' Education during Present Emergency.—V. Election by the Faculties of Law and Engineering.—VI. Election by the Registered Graduates.—VII. Fellow Nominated.—VIII. Re-nomination of Ordinary Fellow.—IX. Election of Ordinary Fellows.—X. General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal.—XI. The Muslim History Congress.—XII. Indian Central Jute Committee.—XIII. The National Academy of Sciences, India.—XIV. St. Xavier's College.—XV. Bangabasi College.—XVI. Appointment of Special Officer for Emergency Duties.—XVII. The Debendranath Hemlata Gold Medal, 1941.—XVIII. Under-Graduates of Rangoon University.—XIX. Report on Intermediate Examination in Law, December, 1941.—XX. D.P.H. Examination.—XXI. L.T., B.T. and B.Com. Examinations.—XXII. Report on the Final Examination in Law, December, 1941.—XXIII. Date for next M.B. Examination.*]

I. Our New Vice-Chancellor

Dr. B. C. Roy, B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (England), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of our University, in the room of the Hon'ble Sir Mohammad Azizul Huque, Kt., C.I.E., B.L., D.Litt., M.L.A., Khan Bahadur, who resigned in order to join his new duties in the United Kingdom as High Commissioner for India.

We offer our respectful felicitations to Dr. Roy and hope that the University will profit by his guidance in this period of great crisis for the country.

* * *

II. Lieut.-Col. Sir M. Azizul Huque Honoured

The Degree of Doctor of Literature *Honoris Causa* was conferred upon Lieut.-Col. Sir M. Azizul Huque, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University and High Commissioner-Designate for India, by the University of Calcutta, at a Special Convocation held at the Darbhanga Hall on Thursday, the 12th March. His Excellency the Chancellor made reference to Sir Mohammad's services to the cause of culture and education in this province while admitting him to the honour.

* * *

III. The Annual Convocation of the University

The Annual Convocation of the University was held at the Senate Hall, Calcutta, on Saturday, the 28th February, 1942, His Excellency the Chancellor presiding.

The Degree of Doctor of Law *Honoris Causa* was conferred upon Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., F.R.A., Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University.

There were more than five thousand and four hundred recipients of Degrees, including Doctorates of Science and Philosophy, Masters of Arts and Science, Bachelors of Arts, Law, Medicine, Commerce, Engineering, Science, Metallurgy, etc.

The Jagattarini Gold Medal was awarded to Srimati Mankumari Basu and the Bhubanmohini Dasi Gold Medal to Srimati Anurupa Devi for their contributions to Bengali literature. Sj. Basanta Ranjan Roy, Bidwadballabh, a retired Lecturer in the Department of Modern Indian Languages of our University, received the Sarojini Basu Gold Medal in recognition of his valuable research work in Bengali language and literature.

The Addresses of His Excellency the Chancellor and the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor are printed in this number of the Review.

* * *

IV. Girls' Education during Present Emergency

The Syndicate, at its meeting of January 26, 1942, accepted the following proposals for the education of girl students attached to schools in Calcutta:

Classes I to V of all girls' schools are not to re-open as long as the situation does not improve. The Upper classes will function in the interest of those girl students who continue to stay in the city. To ensure suitable attendance at the various classes, the girls' schools in Calcutta are to be divided into zones. The school authorities are to co-operate in re-grouping of the schools so that one or more centralised schools may be kept open in each zone. Arrangements should be made to provide necessary protective measures for such schools and the rationing authority be requested to provide sufficient petrol for the conveyance of teachers and students from their homes to the schools and back again. Schools which wish to carry on independently will be allowed to do so when they satisfy the University that they have introduced the necessary protective measures against air-raids. Whenever new teachers are to be appointed, they are to be chosen from among those thrown out of employment on account of schools not re-opening. Schools which do not re-open during the continuance of the emergency

will enjoy the assistance both from Government and from the University which they have been previously enjoying.

Students who do not wish to withdraw their names will pay half the fee only. The teachers, if they are not absorbed by the centralised schools, may find employment in the A.R.P.

* * *

V. Election by the Faculties of Law and Engineering

Mr. Manmathanath Ray, M.A., B.L., M L.A., who was the only candidate proposed for election as Ordinary Fellow by the Faculty of Law, was declared duly elected an Ordinary Fellow of the University, subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor.

Mr. Prabhatnath Banerjee, M.A. (Cantab.), M.I.E. (Ind.), whose election as Ordinary Fellow by the Faculty of Engineering was also uncontested, was declared duly elected as an Ordinary Fellow of the University, subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor.

* * *

VI. Election by the Registered Graduates

Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., and Mr. Sashikanta Chakravarty, B.E., M.I.P. (Lond.), M.I.E., have been declared duly elected by the Registered Graduates as Ordinary Fellows of the University, subject to the approval of His Excellency the Chancellor.

* * *

VII. Fellow Nominated

Khan Bahadur M. Badiur Rahman, B.Sc., B.T., M.Ed. (Leeds), Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muhammadan Education, has been nominated to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University in place of Dr. S. Hedayetullah, M.Sc., Ph.D.

The Fellow has been attached to the Faculty of Arts.

* * *

VIII. Re-nomination of Ordinary Fellow

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to re-nominate Lt.-Col. F. J. Anderson, C.I.E., M.C., M.B.B.S., F.R.C.S. (Eng.),

I.M.S., F.S.M.F. (Bengal), to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University with effect from the 8th January, 1942.

* * *

IX. Election of Ordinary Fellows

His Excellency the Chancellor is pleased to approve of the following elections of Ordinary Fellows held recently by the different Faculties:

Prof. Praphullachandra Mitter, M.A., Ph.D. (Faculty of Science).

Manmathanath Ray, Esq., M.A., B.L., M.L.A. (Faculty of Law).

Prabhatnath Banerjee, Esq., M.A. (Cantab.), M.I.E. (Ind.) (Faculty of Engineering).

* * *

X. General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal

Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., has been appointed a representative of the University on the General Council and State Faculty of Ayurvedic Medicine, Bengal, for the next term.

* * *

XI. The Muslim History Congress

The first session of the Muslim History Congress was held at Lahore on the 1st and 2nd March, 1942, under the Presidentship of Dr. Sir Zia-ud Din Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Our University has conveyed its good wishes for the success of the Muslim History Congress.

* * *

XII. Indian Central Jute Committee

At the request of the Indian Central Jute Committee, the University has conveyed its permission for an extension of membership of Prof. M. N. Saha and Prof. B. C. Guha on the Technological Sub-Committee and of Prof. S. P. Agharkar on the Agricultural Research Sub-Committee of the Indian Central Jute Committee for a further term of two years

with effect from the 1st April, 1942. The University has also given its consent to the appointment of Prof. J. P. Niyogi as a member of the Economic Research and Publicity Sub-Committee for the same term.

* * *

XIII. The National Academy of Sciences, India

The eleventh annual meeting of the National Academy of Sciences, India, was held on the 13th, 14th and 15th February, 1942, in the Senate Hall, Agra. Our University conveyed its good wishes for the success of the meeting.

* * *

XIV. St. Xavier's College

The Syndicate has recommended that, in extension of affiliation already granted to the St. Xavier's College, the institution be affiliated in Commercial Geography, and Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-Keeping to the Intermediate standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1942-43, *i.e.*, with permission to present candidates for examination in the subjects from the year 1944 and not earlier.

* * *

XV. Bangabasi College

The Syndicate has recommended that, in extension of affiliation already granted, the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, be affiliated in Bengali to the B.A. Honours standard with effect from the commencement of the session 1942-43.

* * *

XVI. Appointment of Special Officer for Emergency Duties

Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.A., Ph.D. (London), M.L.A., has been appointed Special Officer for Emergency Duties for a period of six months from the 15th January, 1942. Dr. Sanyal will be a whole-time Officer of the University during the tenure of his appointment and will assist the Registrar in the performance of such duties as he may direct, specially in connection with measures to meet the present emergent situation.

XVII. The Debendranath Hemlata Gold Medal, 1941

The above Gold Medal for 1941 has been awarded to Mr. Kironkumar Roychowdhury, M.A. and Mr. Purnendukumar Banerjee, M.A.

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XVIII. Under-Graduates of Rangoon University

Our University has conveyed an assurance to the Registrar, Rangoon University, that the under-graduates of Rangoon University who have evacuated to their homes in India after completion of their courses of study will receive sympathetic consideration when they apply with proper certificates, seeking admission to the various examinations.

* * *

XIX. Report on Intermediate Examination in Law, December, 1941

Of the 244 candidates registered for the examination, 189 passed, 45 failed and 10 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 15 passed in the First Division and 174 in the Second.

* * *

XX. D.P.H. Examination

The commencing date of the next D.P.H. Examination, Part II, has been fixed as follows:—

Part II—Monday, 20th April, 1942.

* * *

XXI. L.T., B.T. and B.Com. Examinations

The commencing dates of L.T., B.T. and B.Com. Examinations have been shifted from the 20th April and 4th May to the 1st June and 12th June, 1942, respectively.

* * *

XXII. Report on the Final Examination in Law, December, 1941

The number of candidates registered for the Final Examination in Law, held in December, 1941, was 226, of whom 146 passed, 65 failed

and 15 were absent. Of the successful candidates, 12 passed in the First Division, and 134 in the Second. The percentage of passes is 68·7.

* * *

XXIII. Date for next M.B. Examination

Thursday, the 23rd April, 1942 has been fixed as the commencing date for the next M.B. Examination.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Gleanings from My Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal). D/C 8vo pp. 364+xviii.

Bageswari Silpaprabandhabali, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E. Royal 8vo pp. 400.

Adam's Reports on Education, 1835-38, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D. (Lond.). D/Demy 16mo pp. 578+lxvii. Rs. 5-0.

Philosophical Essays, by Prof. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab), D.Litt. (Rome). Royal 8vo pp. 398. Rs. 5-8.

The Development of Hindu Iconography, by Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A. Royal 8vo pp. 460+xvi.

Public Health and Social Service (*Basanta Lectures*), by Dr. John B. Grant, M.D., M.P.H. Demy 8vo pp. 66.

Kamala Lectures, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L., Vidyaratna. D/Demy 16mo pp. 119+ix. Re. 1-8.

Dakshinatya, by Mr. Lalitkumar Chatterji. D/F'Cap. 8vo pp. 174. Re. 1-0.

Poetry, Monads and Society (*Sir George Stanley Lectures*, 1941), by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 204+x. Rs. 3-0.

Dharma Sadhana, by Sm. Swarna Prabha Sen, B.A., B.T. Demy 8vo pp. 113+9. Re. 1.

Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*), by Mr. Charuchandra Datta, I.C.S. (Retd.). Demy 8vo pp. 373+4. Rs. 1-12.

Hegeler Darsanik Matabad, by Mr. Nagendranath Sengupta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 98+13. Re. 1-0.

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"This small volume contains a number of papers based on Dr. Sen's Marathi and Portuguese studies. Among other items may be mentioned a translation of d'Alorna's 'Instructions to his Successor, Tavora.' This document was written in 1750, and contains a *résumé* of the operations by which the Portuguese succeeded in regaining part of the ground which they had lost to their Maratha neighbours. Interesting and useful accounts of the Portuguese records at Goa and of the Portuguese documents relating to Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan also form part of the volume. Slighter studies relate to various episodes in Marathi history. As a whole the volume contains much that is both new and sound. Dr. Sen is one of the most careful and reliable of the younger Indian writers of history. One day we hope he may give us that history of the Marathas in the eighteenth century which he is better qualified than anyone else to write."—*Times Literary Supplement*, February 5, 1931.

The Dynastic History of Northern India (*Early Mediæval Period*), by Hemchandra Ray, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.).

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